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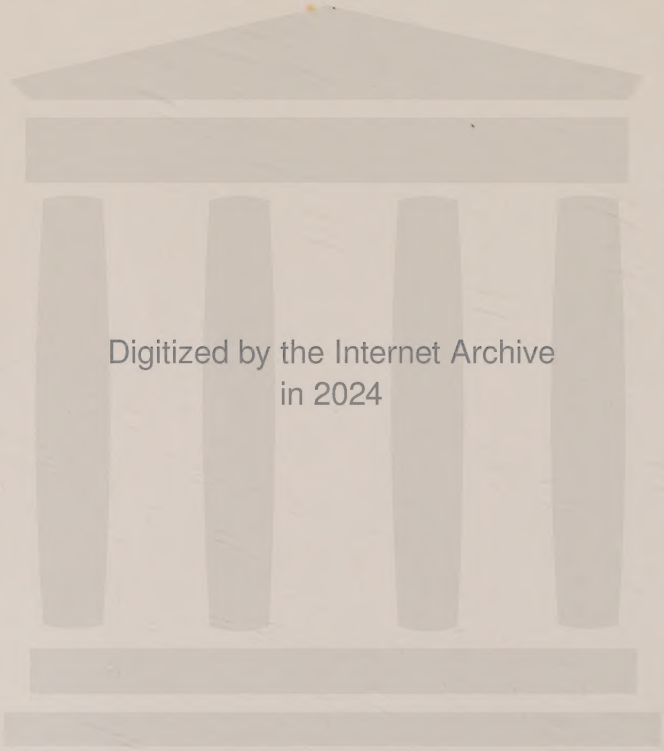
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Memoirs of
Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough

The Background of History

Memoirs of Court, Camp and Society

Edited by

Cyril Hughes Hartmann

Memoirs of Captain Carleton.

Memoirs of Leonora Christina, Countess Ulfeldt.

Secret History of Henrietta, Princess of England, *and* Memoirs of the Court of France for the Years 1688 and 1689. Both by Mme de la Fayette.

Memoirs of Sir James Melville, of Halhill.

Memoirs of the Comte de Gramont.

Memoirs of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough.

SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH

National Portrait Gallery.

Memoirs of
Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough

together with her Characters of her
Contemporaries and her Opinions

Edited, with an Introduction, by
William King

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George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.
Broadway House, Carter Lane, E.C.
1930

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THE EDINBURGH PRESS, EDINBURGH

TO

FRANCIS DENIS LYCETT GREEN

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

BY HIS FRIEND WILLIAM KING

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Introduction

A VOLUME largely devoted to the reflections and memories of a more or less bedridden female octogenarian might reasonably be expected to make sorry reading, but age and infirmity alike were powerless to dull the spirit of the first Duchess of Marlborough. Writing in the Duchess's eighty-second year Horace Walpole says :—" Old Marlborough is dying—but who can tell ! Last year she had lain a great while ill, without speaking ; her physicians said, ' She must be blistered, or she will die '. She called out, ' I won't be blistered, and I won't die '. If she takes the same resolution now, I don't believe she will." In fact she recovered again and survived this illness by nearly three years.

She possessed in superlative measure the belief that she had invariably acted for the best and that her opinions were inevitably right ; she had moreover an unexpectedly firm command of her pen. Swift, who disliked her, sums up her character with acrimony : " three Furies ", he says, " reigned in her breast, the most mortal enemies of all softer passions, which were sordid Avarice, disdainful Pride and ungovernable Rage ". What the Duchess had to say about Swift appears at its most venomous on page 247 of this volume.

Introduction

Sarah Jennings was born in 1660, the daughter of a country gentleman near St Albans, and while still a child became attached to the household of the Duchess of York. It was thus that she made the acquaintance of the little Princess Anne, daughter of the Duke of York and four years her junior. In her eighteenth year she made a love match and married the handsome and gallant Colonel John Churchill, who was ten years older than herself. The marriage was ideally happy. Those of the Duke's letters that survive breathe a uniform spirit of the utmost tenderness, and although the other side of the correspondence was destroyed by the Duchess's orders, there is no doubt of the depth of her feelings, often though they may have been obscured by the violent rages to which she was subject.

Lady Bute, daughter of the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, preserved a charming story of the Duchess in old age, which she had frequently heard recounted with particular pleasure by the Duchess herself; it is here related in the words of Lady Bute's daughter, Lady Louisa Stuart, and refers to the Duchess's wealth of fair hair, which preserved its colour until she was very old. " None of her charms, when they were at their proudest height, had been so fondly prized by the poor Duke her husband. Therefore, one day, upon his offending her by some act of disobedience to her ' strong sovereign will ',

the bright thought occurred, as she sat considering how she could plague him most, that it would be a hearty vexation to see his favourite tresses cut off. Instantly the deed was done ; she cropped them short, and laid them in an ante-chamber he must pass through to enter her apartment. But, to her cruel disappointment, he passed, entered, and repassed, and calm enough to provoke a saint ; neither angry nor sorrowful ; seemingly quite unconsious both of his crime and his punishment. Concluding he must have overlooked the hair, she ran to secure it. Lo ! it had vanished—and she remained in great perplexity the rest of the day. The next, as he continued silent, and her looking-glass spoke the change a rueful one, she began to think she had done rather a foolish thing. Nothing more ever transpired upon the subject until after the Duke's death, when she found her beautiful ringlets carefully laid by in a cabinet where he kept whatever he held most precious ; and at this point of the story she regularly fell a crying ".

The early years of married life were spent by both in attendance on the Duke of York and in 1682 Churchill was created a peer. In the following year the Princess Anne married Prince George of Denmark, and Lady Churchill was at Anne's urgent request appointed one of the ladies of her bedchamber. Two years later the Duke of York became King James II, until in 1688 the landing of William of Orange was

followed by the defection of Prince George of Denmark and of Churchill himself. Inspired by Lady Churchill, Anne followed their lead, though not in quite so unpremeditated a manner as the Duchess of Marlborough would have us believe. By this time Lady Churchill had become first lady of the Princess's bedchamber, and one of the earliest actions of the new King William III was to create Lord Churchill Earl of Marlborough. The royal favour did not however continue for long. The Duchess glosses over the point, but there is no doubt that it was the discovery that Marlborough was in treasonable correspondence with James II in France that led to his being dismissed from his employments in 1692 and sent to the Tower. The ensuing struggles between Queen Mary and Anne, her sister, over the fate of Lady Marlborough are vividly described by the Duchess in her *Memoirs*. The death of the Queen in 1694 occasioned a reconciliation between William and Anne, and four years later Marlborough was restored to favour. It was about this time that Lady Marlborough committed the kind action that was to result in her undoing ; she obtained a post as bedchamber woman to the Princess for an indigent cousin, Abigail Hill.

The circumstances of this affair and its consequences, together with Abigail's secret marriage to Samuel Masham, are described in such venomous detail by the Duchess that there is no need to say more here than that Lady Marlborough seems

consistently to have underrated the abilities of a remarkably discreet and intelligent woman. Swift, who knew her well, writes of her :—" My Lady Masham was a person of a plain sound understanding, of great truth and sincerity, without the least mixture of falsehood or disguise ; of an honest boldness and courage, superior to her sex ; firm and disinterested in her friendship, and full of love, duty, and veneration for the Queen her mistress," and this seems on the whole a fair summary of her character.

The death in 1700 of the eleven-year old Duke of Gloucester, the only one of Anne's seventeen children to survive infancy, was a political calamity of importance, for when two years later Anne became Queen, the ultimate succession lay between the Catholic son of James II, afterwards commonly known as the Old Pretender, and the Protestant granddaughter of James I, the Electress Sophia of Hanover, whose son eventually succeeded Anne as George I. The political history of the reign of Anne is intimately bound up with this question, but for our present purpose all that need be said is that on the Queen's accession Lady Marlborough, whose husband was in the following year created a Duke, embraced with violence the cause of the Whigs, the leader of whom was Godolphin, the dear friend of the Marlboroughs and father-in-law of their eldest daughter. The policy of this party was the vigorous prosecution of the war with France, and the glorious victories

of Marlborough, culminating in Blenheim, were its happy fruits.

The events of this period, so far as they affected the Duchess, are so vividly described by herself that there is no need to detail them here. In 1703 she was to suffer the bitter loss, at the age of thirteen, of her only surviving son, Lord Blandford, and in 1710 she fell into disgrace and was made to resign her employments. A similar fate befell the Duke in the following year, and the pair migrated abroad, to return on the accession of George I in 1714. Eight years later the Duke died. The Duchess survived him for twenty-two years, which she spent mainly in quarrelling, especially with her descendants. A characteristic anecdote of her behaviour to her granddaughter, Lady Bateman, was preserved by Lady Bute and recounted by Lady Louisa Stuart :—" Ere the stormy season set in, the grandame had acquired Lady Bateman's picture ; which she afterwards made a monument of vengeance, in no vulgar or ordinary mode. She did not give it away ; nor sell it to a broker ; nor send it up to a lumber-garret ; nor even turn its front to the wall. She had the face blackened over, and this sentence, *She is much blacker within*, inscribed in large characters on the frame. And thus, placed in her usual sitting-room, it was exhibited to all beholders ".

There is no reason for suspecting the purity of Anne's affection for the Duchess, although at a

later period scandal was busy with the Queen's name. In a letter, written after Anne's death and dated 18 March 1716, Madame, the widow of the Duc d'Orléans, writes from the court of France :—" Engelländer und Engelländerinnen haben die Königin Anna hier abscheulich ausgetragen, sagten, sie saufe sich Sterns voll, darnach würde sie verliebt von Damen, wäre aber unbeständig und ändere oft ; mir hat Madame Sandwich nichts erzählet, aber an meinen Herrn Sohn ; ich bin ein wenig mit ihr umgegangen, denn sie hat mich geekelt selber zugestehen, dass sie sich zu so Wüstereyen hätte gebrauchen lassen ". The only effect of this comment is to asperse the memory of Lady Sandwich, whom Madame with characteristic venom assumes to have been describing these orgiastic symposia from personal experience. This indeed may well have been the case, considering that Lady Sandwich was the daughter of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, whose profligacy was remarkable even at the court of Charles II. But the reflections upon Anne are probably groundless, for the Duchess, on page 232 of the present volume, takes pains to refute the charge of insobriety, which she would certainly have been the first to underline, had she had the chance. It must not be forgotten however that this passage may have been written early and never revised, whereas the allusion on page 256 to the Queen's loss of decency at the end of her reign owing to the

influence of "a very brutal woman" may very well imply that the Duchess had subsequently heard the allegations quoted by Madame and believed it unnecessary to deny them. In any case Lady Sandwich's suggestion that the Queen was inconstant to her favourites is belied by her continual kindness to Lady Masham and the Duchess of Somerset, while her behaviour to the Duchess of Marlborough is fully justified by what we read of the Duchess of Marlborough's behaviour to the Queen.

The following awe-inspiring story is related by Miss Elizabeth Strickland, a historian whose unusual modesty led her to forbid her name to appear on the title-pages of any of the works of her more famous sister Agnes. Elizabeth Strickland contributed to the *Lives of the Queens of England* those of Mary II and Anne, among many others, and she relates this anecdote as emanating "from the reminiscences of a venerable countess, who had passed half a century at the court of her late majesty Queen Charlotte" and through whose mediation it doubtlessly derived originally from Lady Masham herself:—

"One afternoon, not many weeks after the death of the duke of Gloucester, the princess Anne noticed that she had no gloves on; she therefore told Abigail Hill, who was in attendance on her toilet, to fetch them from the next room, as she remembered that she had left them on the table. Mrs Hill obeyed her royal highness, and passed

into the next room, where she found lady Marlborough seated, reading a letter ; but the gloves of the princess were not on the table, for lady Marlborough had taken them up by accident, and put them on. Abigail most submissively mentioned to her ' that she had put on by mistake her royal highness's gloves.'—' Ah ! ' exclaimed lady Marlborough, ' have I put on anything that has touched the odious hands of that disagreeable woman ? ' Then pulling them off, she threw the gloves on the ground, and exclaimed, violently, ' Take them away ! ' Abigail obeyed silently, and retired with her usual stealthy quietude, carefully closing the door after her, which she had previously left ajar. When she entered the room where she had left the princess, she plainly perceived that her royal highness had heard every word of the dialogue ; but neither discussed the matter at that time, and the incident rested a profound secret between them, for it so happened that the princess had had no one but Mrs Abigail Hill in the room with her. Lady Marlborough soon left the adjoining saloon, and certainly remained for ever unconscious of what her mistress had overheard ".

Even before her disgrace in 1710 the Duchess had started the policy of writing open letters in her own defence. The letter to Mrs Burnet to which she refers in this volume was written not later than the earliest years of Anne's reign. The original, according to the 8th Report of the

Historical MSS. Commission (Appendix, p. 26), is preserved in the muniment room of Blenheim Palace, together with many important unpublished sources in the shape of letters and other documents. It would have been of value to have had the opportunity of collating these with the present publication, but, as readers of Mr Geoffrey Webb's introduction to the Letters of Sir John Vanbrugh will remember, the present owner has the strongest objections to placing the resources of his library at the disposal of students. Besides the letter to Mrs Burnet, the Duke of Marlborough possesses the "original draft of the *Conduct*, written in 1711 and submitted to Sir Robert Walpole but suppressed by his desire", as related on page 5 below, as well as "a more connected and regular sketch of the *Conduct* written by Mr St Priest while the Duke and Duchess were at Antwerp in 1713 and 1714, "and two different versions of part of the *Vindication*, apparently written for the press but differing from the printed copy".

Fortunately for students of history, previous owners of Blenheim Palace have held a different view of the personal sanctity of their possessions than that which at present obtains. When Archdeacon Coxe was preparing his *Memoirs of John, Duke of Marlborough*, which appeared in 1818-9, he was allowed free access to the manuscripts contained in the house, and a great number of these and other materials used in the compilation

of his work were carefully transcribed and are now in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum. They include a lengthy letter to Mr Hutchinson from the Duchess in vindication of her conduct, endorsed by the Archdeacon " written when she was abroad in 1713 ". This, combined with the fact that the manuscript is stated to be in another hand than that of the Duchess, suggests that the letter may be the same mentioned above as " written by Mr St Priest ", but it is impossible to settle this question without reference to the original. These transcripts of Archdeacon Coxe's were extensively used by Mrs A. T. Thomson, when compiling her valuable *Memoirs of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, which appeared in 1839.

The first part of the present volume consists of a reprint of the *Account of the Conduct*, here called for convenience *Memoirs of the Duchess;* the title-page of the original issue appears in facsimile on page 1. This work was written with the assistance of Nathaniel Hooke, a historian of importance in his day. The following account of the collaboration is extracted from an anonymous collection of anecdotes entitled " Sylva or the Wood ", published in 1786 and written by the Rev. Dr Ralph Heathcote. " This old Sarah, as she was then called, published, in 1742, an *Account of her Conduct* under Queen Anne: which *account*, by the way, gives an excellent insight into the manœuvres of a court. She was

assisted herein by Mr Hooke the historian ; to whom, though oppressed with the infirmities of age, and almost bedrid, she would continue speaking for six hours together. She delivered to him, without any notes, her account in the most lively as well as the most connected manner : and, though the correction of the language was left to Hooke, yet the whole is plainly animated with her spirit ; and, as some philosophers have said of soul with regard to body, she was *tota in toto, et tota in qualibet parte.*" If Mrs Thomson is right in identifying " the person who writes the inscription " mentioned on page 276 of the present volume with Hooke, it seems likely that the *Conduct* was composed, or at least begun, some years before the date of publication, for the inscription on the Blenheim statue is dated 1738. The noble lord to whom the *Conduct* is dedicated is said to be George, 3rd Earl of Cholmondeley, the son-in-law of Sir Robert Walpole.

With regard to the accuracy of the *Conduct* I have already noted a certain disingenuousness in the Duchess's accounts of the defection of the Princess Anne and the reasons for the disgrace of Lord Marlborough, and it may be observed that a MS. note in the British Museum copy of the Duchess's *Opinions* states that " the Dutchess of Marlboro' wold not permit Mr Hooke to make use of all her letters and papers. He used to say that they were sadly garbled ". Certain expurgations are obvious. Miss Strickland fills in

the lacunæ on pages 58 to 60 respectively with the words "Caliban," "Caliban," and "that Dutch monster," these being the nicknames—together with "the Dutch abortion"—by which the Princess Anne and Lady Marlborough were accustomed to refer to William III. But I cannot help suspecting that although the gist may not have been tampered with, many of the letters have suffered substantial verbal alteration. The Coxe MSS. contain a transcript of the Duke's letter to the Duchess quoted on page 131, which reads as follows :—"Meldert, June 2, 1707. The wisest thing is to have to do with as few people as is possible. If you are sure that 256 does speak of business to 42, I should think you might speak to her with some caution, which might do good. For she certainly is grateful and will mind what you say". Anyone who takes the trouble to compare the two versions will be aware of considerable differences, though the meaning is little altered. It may be noted that here, as in other letters of the Duke's quoted in the *Conduct*, ciphers are used to stand for proper names, as the post was not considered sufficiently safe to dispense with them, and since the keys have been frequently lost and the ciphers were constantly changed, it is not always easy to interpret these with certainty.

The second section of this volume, the Duchess's *Characters of her Contemporaries*, was first published in the *Private Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, which appeared in 1838.

It is here reprinted as a continuous narrative, but appears to be actually a collection of notes written at various periods of the Duchess's life. The greater part of this section may be found in the Coxe MSS. and a certain number of corrections have been made by me from this source. The first portion, from page 227 to half-way down page 235, is suggested by Coxe to have been written by St Priest and to have been part of what was suppressed by Walpole ; if, as seems to be implied (page xx), Walpole suppressed the draft in 1711 and St Priest only came on the scene two years later, this cannot be right. There is more plausibility in another suggestion of Coxe's, that the whole passage is a part of the *Conduct* and was intended for insertion half-way down page 191 of the present edition. The wording at the bottom of page 229 certainly implies that we have here a fragment of a larger work. The four succeeding paragraphs seem to be wanting from Coxe. The following passage, from the bottom of page 236 to the bottom of page 253, is a continuous whole ; after which comes a four-line paragraph described by Coxe as possibly the work of Bishop Atterbury. The concluding passages (pages 254 to 269) are presumably comments on Bishop Burnet's *History of his own Time*, which is believed to have been submitted to the Duchess and altered at her suggestion at some period between the Bishop's death in 1715 and the publication of the first

volume of the *History* in 1723. In the form in which we have them they cannot be earlier than 1740, as appears from page 255, and they may be simply her comments on the published work, although the last sentence suggests that they incorporate her notes made before the publication of the *History*.

This volume concludes with the Duchess's *Opinions*, which were published in 1788 as *The Opinions of Sarah Duchess-Dowager of Marlborough*. The anonymous editor is said to be Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, and the *Opinions* to be extracted from letters written by the Duchess to his kinsman, Lord Stair. I do not know whether the original letters still exist; I have tried here to preserve Lord Hailes's indications of the original readings, even sometimes at the expense of grammar. The *Opinions* were republished in the 1838 edition of the Duchess's *Correspondence*. They speak for themselves; it is only to be regretted that the editor refrained from printing the letters in their entirety. The recipients of the Garter referred to on page 309 can be identified as Lords Essex and Waldegrave, but I fear that we shall never know the precise epithet awarded to Mrs Sandys on page 331. And it is deeply to be deplored that the correspondence ceases before we hear the Duchess's comments on the defeat of her enemy Walpole in 1742.

WILLIAM KING.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

CONDUCT

OF THE

Dowager Ducheſs of MARLBOROUGH,

From her firſt coming to COURT,

To the Year 1710.

In a LETTER from Herſelf to MY LORD—

LONDON:

Printed by JAMES BETTENHAM,

For GEORGE HAWKINS, at *Milton's Head*,
between the two *Temple-Gates*.

MDCCXLII.

Memoirs of
The Duchess of Marlborough

My Lord,

I have been often told that there is a sort of philosophy, by which people have brought themselves to be indifferent, not only whether they be at all remembered after death, but whether in case their names should survive them, they be mentioned with praise or infamy. If this be really a point of wisdom, it is infinitely beyond my reach, and I shall own further that it seems to me too refined and sublime to be attained by anybody who has not first got rid of the prejudices of common sense and common honesty. I will not pretend to say that the passion for fame may not sometimes be excessive and deservedly the subject of ridicule. But surely, my Lord, there never was a single instance of a person of true honour, who was willing to be spoken of, either during life or after it, as a betrayer of his country or his friend. And I am persuaded your Lordship must have observed that all those who at this day declare themselves wholly careless about what the world or the circle of their acquaintance will say of them when they are dead are quite as unconcerned to deserve a good character while they live.

For my own part, I frankly confess to your Lordship and to the world that whatever vanity or weakness the ambition of a good name may be thought, either by philosophers or by ministers of state, to imply, I have ever felt some degree of that ambition from the moment I could distinguish between good and evil. My chief aim (if I have any acquaintance with my own heart) has been both in public and private life to deserve approbation; but I have never been without an earnest desire to have it too, both living and dead, from the wise and virtuous.

My Lord, this passion has led me to take more pains than you would easily imagine. It has sometimes carried me beyond the sphere, to which the men have thought proper, and perhaps generally speaking with good reason, to confine our sex. I have been a kind of author. About forty years ago, having understood that the wife of the late Bishop Burnet, a lady whom I greatly esteemed, had received unfavourable impressions of me, on account of the unhappy differences between Queen Mary and her sister, I wrote a faithful narrative of that affair, purely to satisfy that one person.

And when, after my dismission from Queen Anne's service, I perceived how industriously malice was employed in inventing calumnies to load me with, I drew up an account of my conduct in the several offices I had filled under her Majesty. This piece I intended to publish immediately,

but was dissuaded from it by a person of great eminence at this day, whom I thought my friend. I have since imagined that he had by instinct an aversion to accounting. It was said as a reason for deferring the publication of my account, that prejudice and passion were grown too violent and stormy for the voice of reason to be heard, but that those would after some time subside, and that the truth, then brought to light, would unavoidably prevail. I followed the advice with the less reluctance, as being conscious of the power of an easy vindication whenever my patience should be pushed to extremity.

After this I set myself another task, to which I was partly urged by the injustice and, I may say, ingratitude of the Whigs. It was to give an account of my conduct with regard to parties, and of the successful artifice of Mr Harley and Mrs Masham, in taking advantage of the Queen's passion for what she called the Church, to undermine me in her affections. In this undertaking I had the assistance of a friend to whom I furnished materials. Some parts of the work were of my own composition, being such passages as nobody but myself could relate with exactness. This was not originally intended to be published till after my death.

But, my Lord, as I am now drawing near my end and very soon there will remain nothing of me but a name, I am grown desirous, under the little capacity which age and infirmities have left

me for other enjoyments, to have the satisfaction, before I die, of seeing that name which from the station I have held in the great world must unavoidably survive me in possession of what was only designed it for a legacy. From this desire I have caused the several pieces above-mentioned to be connected together and thrown into the form in which I now take the liberty to address them to your Lordship. They may possibly be of some use towards correcting the folly and injustice of those who, in order to judge of the conduct of others, begin with forming to themselves characters of them upon slight and idle reports and then make such characters the rule by which they admit or reject whatever they afterwards hear concerning them. If any such happy effect as this might reasonably be hoped from the perusal of these papers, I should be far from making any apology for offering them to your Lordship:—I would not call it troubling your Lordship with them. No, my Lord, you will not esteem it a trouble to read them, even though you should judge them useless for the purpose I have mentioned. The friendship you favour me with will make you find a particular satisfaction in this justification of my injured character to the world. And I imagine that there is no honest mind, how much soever it may chance to be prejudiced against me, but will feel something of the same pleasure in being undeceived.

The original letters, of which, either in whole

or in part, the copies will be here found, I have directed to be preserved in my family, as incontestable vouchers of the truth of what I am going to relate.

The first time that my favour with the Princess Anne of Denmark became an object of public attention was upon the quarrel between her sister Queen Mary and her, which happened a few years after the Revolution. Here therefore your Lordship might naturally expect that I should begin my relation. But as I have been blamed for some memorable parts of the Princess's conduct before that quarrel, it will be necessary to my present purpose to go back a little farther; and perhaps it may not be improper to say something even of the birth and first growth of that favour, which has given occasion to all the calumnies with which I have been aspersed.

The beginning of the Princess's kindness for me had a much earlier date than my entrance into her service. My promotion to this honour was wholly owing to impressions she had before received to my advantage; we had used to play together when she was a child, and she even then expressed a particular fondness for me. This inclination increased with our years. I was often at Court, and the Princess always distinguished me by the pleasure she took to honour me, pre-

ferably to others, with her conversation and confidence. In all her parties for amusement I was sure by her choice to be one, and so desirous she became of having me always near her, that upon her marriage with the Prince of Denmark in 1683 it was at her own earnest request to her father I was made one of the Ladies of her Bedchamber.

What conduced to render me the more agreeable to her in this station was doubtless the dislike she had conceived to most of the other persons about her, and particularly to her first Lady of the Bedchamber, the Countess of Clarendon, a lady, whose discourse and manner, though the Princess thought they agreed very well together, could not possibly recommend her to so young a mistress, for she looked like a madwoman, and talked like a scholar. Indeed her Highness's Court was throughout so oddly composed, that I think it would be making myself no great compliment if I should say her choosing to spend more of her time with me than with any of her other servants did no discredit to her taste. Be that as it will, it is certain she at length distinguished me by so high a place in her favour as perhaps no person ever arrived at a higher with Queen or Princess. And if from hence I may draw any glory, it is that I both obtained and held this place without the assistance of flattery, a charm which in truth her inclination for me, together with my unwearied application to serve and amuse her, rendered needless, but which, had

it been otherwise, my temper and turn of mind would never have suffered me to employ.

Young as I was, when I first became this high favourite, I laid it down for a maxim that flattery was falsehood to my trust and ingratitude to my greatest friend, and that I did not deserve so much favour, if I could not venture the loss of it by speaking the truth and by preferring the real interest of my mistress before the pleasing her fancy or the sacrificing to her passion. From this rule I never swerved. And though my temper and my notions in most things were widely different from those of the Princess, yet during a long course of years she was so far from being displeased with me for openly speaking my sentiments, that she sometimes professed a desire, and even added her command, that it should be always continued, promising never to be offended at it, but to love me the better for my frankness.

Favour with a Princess upon these terms engaged me to her in the manner that it ought, I mean, by a sentiment which I choose to call honour, rather than gratitude or duty, because while it implies all the justice and affection of these, it seems to express a more disinterested principle of action. For I can truly affirm that I never considered myself on any occasion where her interest or glory was concerned, nor had I any idea of a misery which I would not have sooner incurred than the inward shame of being conscious of a failure in this respect. The facts

themselves which I am going to relate will in a great degree evince the truth of what I say, and that the Princess was perfectly persuaded of it is, I think, sufficiently manifest both from her letters to me, and from that unreserved intimacy of friendship, in which we for many years lived together.

Kings and Princes for the most part imagine they have a dignity peculiar to their birth and station, which ought to raise them above all connection of friendship with an inferior. Their passion is to be admired and feared, to have subjects awefully obedient, and servants blindly obsequious to their pleasure. Friendship is an offensive word; it imports a kind of equality between the parties; it suggests nothing to the mind of crowns or thrones, high titles, or immense revenues, fountains of honour or fountains of riches, prerogatives which the possessors would have always uppermost in the thoughts of those who are permitted to approach them.

The Princess had a different taste. A friend was what she most coveted, and for the sake of friendship, a relation which she did not disdain to have with me, she was fond even of that equality which she thought belonged to it. She grew uneasy to be treated by me with the form and ceremony due to her rank, nor could she bear from me the sound of words which implied in them distance and superiority. It was this turn of mind which made her one day propose

to me, that whenever I should happen to be absent from her, we might in all our letters write ourselves by feigned names, such as would import nothing of distinction of rank between us. Morley and Freeman were the names her fancy hit upon, and she left me to choose by which of them I would be called. My frank, open temper naturally led me to pitch upon Freeman, and so the Princess took the other, and from this time Mrs Morley and Mrs Freeman began to converse as equals, made so by affection and friendship.

Soon after the decease of King Charles the Second, Lord Clarendon was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to which country his Lady was to go with him. The Princess received a sensible joy from this event, not only as it released her from a person very disagreeable to her, but as it gave her an opportunity of promoting me to be first Lady of her Bedchamber; which she immediately did, with a satisfaction to herself that was not to be concealed.

During her father's whole reign she kept her Court as private as she could consistent with her station. What were the designs of that unhappy Prince everybody knows. They came soon to show themselves undisguised, and attempts were made to draw his daughter into them. The King indeed used no harshness with her; he only discovered his wishes by putting into her hands some books and papers, which he hoped might induce her to a change of religion; and had she

had any inclination that way, the chaplains about her were such divines as could have said but little in defence of their own religion, or to secure her against the pretences of Popery, recommended to her by a father and a King.

Lord Tyrconnel also, who had married my sister, took some pains with me to engage me, if possible, to make use for the same end of that great favour which he knew I enjoyed with the Princess. But all his endeavours proved vain, and it was not long before all the danger blew over, the projects of that reign being effectually disappointed almost as soon as they were openly avowed.

Upon the landing of the Prince of Orange in 1688, the King went down to Salisbury to his army, and the Prince of Denmark with him; but the news quickly came from thence, that the Prince of Denmark had left the King and was gone over to the Prince of Orange, and that the King was coming back to London. This put the Princess into a great fright. She sent for me, told me her distress, and declared that rather than see her father she would jump out at window. This was her very expression.

A little before a note had been left with me, to inform me where I might find the Bishop of London, who in that critical time absconded, if her Royal Highness should have occasion for a friend. The Princess on this alarm immediately sent me to the Bishop. I acquainted him with

her resolution to leave the Court and to put herself under his care. It was hereupon agreed that when he had advised with his friends in the city, he should come about midnight in a hackney-coach to the neighbourhood of the Cockpit, in order to convey the Princess to some place where she might be private and safe.

The Princess went to bed at the usual time to prevent suspicion. I came to her soon after, and by the backstairs which went down from her closet, her Royal Highness, my Lady Fitzharding and I, with one servant, walked to the coach, where we found the Bishop and the Earl of Dorset. They conducted us that night to the Bishop's house in the city and the next day to my Lord Dorset's at Copthall. From thence we went to the Earl of Northampton's, and from thence to Nottingham, where the country gathered about the Princess; nor did she think herself safe, till she saw that she was surrounded by the Prince of Orange's friends.

The most remarkable thing that happened to the Princess during her stay at this place was a letter she received from Lord Clarendon. It was full of compliments, and at the same time full of complaints, that she had not told him of a thing he liked so well, that he might have had a share in it. How well these complaints and the earnestness he showed in a consultation held at Windsor before the Prince of Orange came to London to have King James sent to the Tower agreed with

his conduct afterwards, I shall leave to the world to judge.

As this flight of the Princess to Nottingham has by some been ignorantly, not to say maliciously, imputed to my policy and premeditated contrivance, I thought it necessary to give this short but exact relation of it. It was a thing sudden and unconcerted, nor had I any share in it, farther than obeying my mistress's orders in the particulars I have mentioned; though indeed I had reason enough on my own account to get out of the way, Lord Churchill having likewise at that time left the King and gone over to the other party.

Quickly after this the King fled into France. The Throne was hereupon declared vacant, and presently filled with the Prince and Princess of Orange. The Parliament thought proper to settle the Crown on King William for life, and the Princess of Denmark gave her consent to it. This was another event which furnished simple people with a pretence to censure me. It was insinuated that, to make my court to the King and Queen, I had influenced the Princess to forego her undoubted rights. The truth is I did persuade her to consent to the project of that settlement, and to be easy under it, after it was made. But no regard to the King or Queen, nor any view of ambition, had the least share in moving me to this conduct, any more than to what inconsiderable part I acted in the business of the Revolution.

As to the latter, it was evident to all the world, that as things were carried on by King James, everybody sooner or later must be ruined, who would not become a Roman Catholic. This consideration made me very well pleased at the Prince of Orange's undertaking to rescue us from such slavery. But I do solemnly protest that, if there be truth in any mortal, I was so very simple a creature that I never once dreamt of his being King. Having never read, nor employed my time in anything but playing at cards, and having no ambition myself, I imagined that the Prince of Orange's sole design was to provide for the safety of his own country by obliging King James to keep the laws of ours, and that he would go back as soon as he had made us all happy; that there was no sort of difficulty in the execution of this design; and that to do so much good would be a greater pleasure to him than to be king of any country upon earth. I was soon taught to know the world better. However, as I was perfectly convinced that a Roman Catholic is not to be trusted with the liberties of England, I never once repined at the change of the government, no, not in all the time of that long persecution I went through. I might perhaps wish it had been compassed by some other man who had more honour and justice than he, who could depose his father-in-law and uncle to maintain liberty and laws, and then act the tyrant himself in

many instances, but I never once wished that the change had not been made.

And as to giving King William the Crown for life, it was the same principle of regard for the public welfare that carried me to advise the Princess to acquiesce in it. It is true that when the thing was first started, I did not see any necessity for such a measure, and I thought it so unreasonable that I took a great deal of pains (which I believe the King and Queen never forgot) to promote my mistress's pretensions. But I quickly found that all endeavours of that kind would be ineffectual; that all the principal men, except the Jacobites, were for the King, and that the settlement would be carried in Parliament, whether the Princess consented to it or not. So that in reality there was nothing advisable but to yield with a good grace.

I confess, had I been in her place, I should have thought it more for my honour to be easy in this matter than to show an impatience to get possession of a Crown that had been wrested from my father. And as it ought to have been a great trouble to the children of King James to be forced to act the part they did against him, even for the security of liberty and religion (which was truly the case), so it seemed to me that she who discovered the less ambition would have the more amiable character. However as I was fearful about everything the Princess did, while she was thought to be advised by me, I

could not satisfy my own mind, till I had consulted with several persons of undisputed wisdom and integrity, and particularly with the Lady Russell of Southampton House and Dr Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. I found them all unanimous in the opinion of the expediency of the settlement proposed, as things were then situated. In conclusion, therefore, I carried Dr Tillotson to the Princess, and upon what he said to her, she took care that no disturbance should be made by her pretended friends, the Jacobites, who had pressed her earnestly to form an opposition.

This is the true account of my proceeding in that affair, and I believe that some events which soon followed it, and which in part occasioned the memorable quarrel between the two sisters, will sufficiently clear me from all suspicion of intending an interested, base courtship to that reign, in violation of the attachment I owed the Princess.

It is certain, and by everybody known, that the immediate occasion of the open breach between her Majesty and the Princess of Denmark was the Princess's refusing to obey the Queen's command to remove me from about her person. But no one, I think, can be so foolish as to imagine that the Queen's dislike of me was only on account of my being the wife of Lord Marlborough, who happened then to be in disgrace with the King, or that her Majesty would have insisted on a demand so painful to her sister, had they till then

lived together in the harmony which should naturally be preserved between sisters, especially when embarked in one common cause against a father in defence of religion.

To clear up this matter then, and to discover the true sources of that famous quarrel, it will be necessary to recur to some preceding events which unfortunately led the way to it.

On the arrival of Queen Mary in England, the Princess of Denmark went to meet her, and there was great appearance of kindness between them. But this quickly wore off and a visible coldness ensued; which I believe was partly occasioned by the persuasion the King had, that the Prince and Princess had been of more use to him than they were ever like to be again, and partly by the different characters and humours of the two sisters. It was indeed impossible they should be very agreeable companions to each other, because Queen Mary grew weary of anybody who would not talk a great deal, and the Princess was so silent that she rarely spoke more than was necessary to answer a question. But this was not all. In the very beginning of that reign there happened some events, which, as they discovered an uncommon disregard in the Queen for her sister, must naturally produce an answerable discontent in the Princess. And here I cannot forbear saying that whatever good qualities Queen Mary had to make her popular, it is too evident by many instances that she wanted bowels.

Of this she seemed to me to give an unquestionable proof the first day she came to Whitehall. I was one of those who had the honour to wait on her to her own apartment. She ran about it, looking into every closet and conveniency, and turning up the quilts upon the bed, as people do when they come into an inn, and with no other sort of concern in her appearance but such as they express a behaviour which, though at that time I was extremely caressed by her, I thought very strange and unbecoming. For whatever necessity there was of deposing King James, he was still her father, who had been so lately driven from that chamber and that bed ; and, if she felt no tenderness, I thought she should at least have looked grave, or even pensively sad, at so melancholy a reverse of his fortune. But I kept these thoughts in my own breast, not imparting them even to my mistress, to whom I could say anything with all the freedom imaginable. And it was impossible for anybody to labour more than I did to keep the two sisters in perfect union and friendship, thinking it best for them both not to quarrel when their true interest and safety were jointly concerned to support the Revolution. But how impracticable the preservation of this union was rendered by the Queen herself will sufficiently appear by what I am now going to relate.

The Princess, soon after the King's coming to Whitehall, had a mind to leave her lodgings, the way from which to the Queen's apartment

was very inconvenient, and to go to those that had been the Duchess of Portsmouth's, which the King on her request told her she should have. But the Princess requesting also, for the conveniency of her servants, some other lodgings that lay nearest to those of the Duchess, this matter met with difficulty, though her Highness in exchange for what she asked was to give the whole Cockpit, which was more than an equivalent, to be disposed of for the King's use. For the Duke of Devonshire took into his head that, could he have the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, where there was a fine room for balls, it would give him a very magnificent air. And it was very plain that, while this matter was in debate between the King and Queen and Princess, my Lord Devonshire's chief business was to raise so many difficulties in making the Princess easy in those lodgings, as at last to gain his point. After many conversations upon the affair the Queen told the Princess that she could not let her have the lodgings she desired for her servants, till my Lord Devonshire had resolved whether he would have them or a part of the Cockpit. Upon which the Princess answered, she would then stay where she was, for she would not have my Lord Devonshire's leavings. So she took the Duchess of Portsmouth's apartment, granted her at first, and used it for her children, remaining herself at the Cockpit.

Much about the same time the Princess, who

had a fondness for the house at Richmond, where she had lived when a child, and who besides thought the air of that place good for the children, desired that house of the Queen ; but that likewise was refused her, though for many years no use had been made of it but for Madame Possaire, a sister of my Lady Orkney's, and Mr Hill.

The Princess, notwithstanding these mortifications, continued to pay all imaginable respect to the King and Queen. But this did not hinder her Majesty from expressing a great deal of displeasure, when some steps were made in Parliament towards settling a revenue on the Prince and Princess. Taking her sister one night to task for it, she asked her what was the meaning of those proceedings. To which the Princess answered, she heard her friends had a mind to make her some settlement. The Queen hastily replied with a very imperious air, " Pray what friends have you but the King and me ? " I had not the honour to attend the Princess that night, but when she came back, she repeated this to me. And indeed I never saw her express so much resentment as she did at this usage, and I think it must be allowed she had great reason. For it was unjust in her sister not to allow her a decent provision without an entire dependence on the King. And besides the Princess had in a short time learnt that she must be very miserable, if she was to have no support but the friendship of the two persons her Majesty had mentioned.

After this the Queen said no more to the Princess on the subject of the settlement, though they met every day ; and the affair went on so well in the House of Commons that her friends were encouraged to propose for her a much larger revenue than was at last obtained ; to prevent which, by gaining time, the King prorogued the Parliament.

The business however was resumed again at the next meeting, and then all possible endeavours were used to engage me by flattery and by fear to dissuade the Princess from the pursuit of a settlement. My Lady Fitzharding, who was more than anybody in the Queen's favour, and for whom it was well known that I had a singular affection, was the person chiefly employed in this undertaking. Sometimes she attacked me on the side of my own interest, telling me that if I would not put an end to measures so disagreeable to the King and Queen, it would certainly be the ruin of my Lord and consequently of all our family. When she found that this had no effect, she endeavoured to alarm my fears for the Princess by saying that those measures would in all probability ruin her. For nobody, but such as flattered me, believed the Princess would carry her point, and in case she did not, the King would not think himself obliged to do anything for her. That it was perfect madness in me to persist, and I had better ten thousand times persuade the Princess to let the thing fall and so make all easy to the King and Queen.

But all this and a great deal more that was said was so far from inclining me to do what was desired of me, that it only made me more anxious about the success of the Princess's affair and more earnest if possible in the prosecution of it. For as I would have died, rather than have made my court to that reign by sacrificing the interest of the Princess, so there was nothing I dreaded more than by the least appearance of negligence or coldness in the present cause to give ground to suspect me of having been flattered or frightened into so base a conduct. I employed therefore all the powers I was capable of exerting to advance the design. I knew the thing was reasonable, the Princess's happiness was concerned in it, and there was a fair prospect of succeeding. Besides I thought that whatever happened in Parliament, the King could not well avoid giving some allowance to the next heir to the Crown. And if he should give her nothing, she had however by the marriage-settlement, £20,000 a year, which would keep her in a retired way much more agreeably than she could hope to live at Court, if she depended on his generosity, of which I had no opinion; for the late Lord Godolphin had told me that the King, on some meeting at the Treasury, speaking of the Civil List, wondered very much how the Princess could spend £30,000 a year, though it appeared afterwards that some of his favourites had more. And there were other parts of the King's conduct,

which shall be mentioned in a proper place, whereby it sufficiently appeared that I did not mistake in my opinion of his disposition.

But to return to the affair in Parliament. A day or two before it was put to the vote in the House of Commons, I was extremely surprised by a message from the Duke of Shrewsbury, who, as he did not visit me, sent to desire to speak with me about business. When he came, he told me that he was sent by the King, who promised to give the Princess £50,000 a year, if she would desist from soliciting the settlement by Parliament, and that he was confident his Majesty would keep his word. That if he did not, he was sure he would not serve him an hour after he broke it. I said that such a resolution might be very right as to his Grace, but that I did not see it would be of any use to the Princess, if his Majesty should not perform the promise. The Duke, to convince me of the reasonableness of what he proposed, added a great deal which had no effect, and I desired he would attend the Princess herself, to which he consented. I went to her at his request to acquaint her of his coming. Her answer to him was that she could not think herself in the wrong to desire a security for what was to support her; and that the business was now gone so far that she thought it reasonable to see what her friends could do for her.

I need not tell you that the Princess carried her point and that £50,000 was settled by Parliament.

For when the King found that he could not persuade her to an entire dependency upon him, he compounded the matter with her friends upon these terms, to hinder their insisting on a larger settlement. The Parliament had showed an inclination that way. But it was at length thought advisable by the Princess's friends that she should accept of £50,000 securely settled, rather than have any farther struggle, considering the great power and influence of the Crown by means of its dependents.

Nevertheless I was so fearful lest the Princess should suffer for want of good advice, that after I had heard of the Commons voting £50,000 a year, I sent to speak with my Lord Rochester and asked his opinion, whether the Princess ought to be satisfied or whether it was reasonable she should try to get more. (I did not then know how much his heart was bent on making his court to the Queen.) His answer to me was that he thought, not only that the Princess ought to be satisfied with £50,000, but that she ought to have taken it in any way the King and Queen pleased. Which made me reflect that he would not have liked that advice in the case of his own £4000 a year from the Post Office, settled on him and his son.

But I was not so uncivil as to speak my thought, nor so foolish as to struggle any longer. For most of those who had been prevailed with to promote the settlement were Tories, among whom

my Lord Rochester was a very great man. Their zeal on the present occasion was doubtless to thwart King William, for I never observed that on any other they discovered much regard for the Princess of Denmark.

The success of the affair was chiefly imputed to the steadiness and diligence of my Lord Marlborough and me, both by those to whom it was so exceedingly disagreeable, and by her to whose happiness it was then so necessary.

On one side, it was the chief source of all the dissatisfaction of the King and Queen with us; and on the other, it was acknowledged by the Princess with as deep a sense of the kindness as could be expressed, and in a manner generous to a very high degree.

A little above a year after the settlement was made, I was surprised with a letter from her, wherein she offered me the yearly pension of £1000. Some of her words are these :—" I have had something to say to you a great while, and I did not know how to go about it. I have designed, ever since my revenue was settled, to desire you would accept of a thousand pounds a year. I beg you would only look upon it as an earnest of my goodwill, but never mention anything of it to me ; for I shall be ashamed to have any notice taken of such a thing from one that deserves more than I shall be ever able to return."

And some time afterwards, a little delay being made by her treasurer in the payment of it, she

wrote another letter, wherein were these words :— " 'Tis long since I mentioned this thing to dear Mrs Freeman. She has all the reason in the world to believe I did not mean what I said, or that I have changed my mind, which are both so ill qualities, that I cannot bear you should have cause to think your faithful Morley is capable of being guilty of either."

The circumstances of my family at this time were not very great ; yet I was so far from catching at so free and large an offer, that I could not persuade myself to accept of it, till I had sent the first letter to Lord Godolphin and consulted him upon the matter. It was his opinion that there was no reason in the world for me to refuse it. And perhaps no one else will think otherwise, who believes, as he did, that the settling of the Princess's revenue had been chiefly owing to my Lord Marlborough's indefatigable industry and to mine.

The next difference that happened between the sisters was upon the Prince's design of going to sea. He was carried to this resolution by his unwillingness to stay at home, while there was so much action abroad, and by the remembrance of the extreme ill-usage he had met with, when at a great expense he attended his Majesty into Ireland. For the King would not suffer his Royal Highness to go in the coach with him, an affront never put upon a person of that rank before.

The Prince however submitted to this indignity,

it being too late to take any measures to avoid it. Nor during the whole campaign did he fail in any part of duty or respect, though the King never took more notice of him than if he had been a page of the backstairs.

You will allow, I believe, that it was very natural for the Prince to choose a sea expedition, rather than expose himself again to the like contemptuous usage. On his taking leave of the King, who was going to Flanders, he asked his Majesty's permission to serve him at sea as a volunteer and without any command. The King said nothing, but immediately embraced him by way of adieu. Silence in such cases being generally taken for consent, the Prince prepared his equipage and sent everything on board. But the King, as it afterwards appeared, had left orders with the Queen that she should neither suffer the Prince to go to sea nor yet forbid him to go, if she could so contrive matters as to make his staying at home his own choice.

The Queen observed the King's directions very exactly. She sent a great Lord to me to desire I would persuade the Princess to keep the Prince from going to sea, and this I was to compass without letting the Princess know that it was the Queen's desire. I answered that I had all the duty imaginable for the Queen, but that no consideration could make me so failing to my mistress, as I should think myself, if I spoke to her upon that occasion and concealed the reason of it. That

it was natural for the Princess to wish the Prince might stay at home and be out of danger, but whether she could prevail in that matter I did very much doubt. That nevertheless I would say to the Princess whatever her Majesty pleased, provided I might have the liberty to make use of her name. After this the Queen sent my Lord Rochester to me to desire much the same thing. The Prince was not to go to sea, and his not going was to appear his own choice. But after so much noise as had been made about his going, the Prince thought that to send for his things back, without giving any reason for changing his design, would be making a very ridiculous figure, and therefore he would not submit. Upon which the Queen sent my Lord Nottingham in form, positively to forbid the Prince of Denmark's going to sea.

Notwithstanding all these things the Queen and Princess lived in appearance for some time after as if nothing had happened, till the King was pleased, without publicly assigning any particular reason, to remove my Lord Marlborough from all his employments. His Majesty sent Lord Nottingham to tell him that he had no more occasion for his service. This event might perhaps be well enough accounted for by saying that Lord Portland had ever a great prejudice to my Lord Marlborough, and that my Lady Orkney, then Mrs Villiers, though I had never done her any injury, except not making court to her, was my implacable enemy. But I think it is

not to be doubted that the principal cause of the King's message was the Court's dislike that anybody should have so much interest with the Princess as I had, who would not implicitly obey every command of the King and Queen. The disgrace of my Lord Marlborough therefore was designed as a step towards removing me from about her.

A letter from the Queen to her sister, which I shall presently give you, affords ground for this opinion. And the behaviour of my Lord Rochester, who was much in the Queen's favour and councils, confirms it. He had warmly opposed my coming into the Princess's family, and he now showed himself very desirous to have me removed, believing without question that could this be compassed, he should infallibly have the government of both sisters. Though certainly, as to the Princess, he never discovered any such regard for her as should give him a title to her confidence.

But to come to the sequel of the King's message. I solemnly protest that the loss of my Lord Marlborough's employments would never have broke my rest one single night upon account of interest, but I confess the being turned out is something very disagreeable to my temper. And I believe it was three weeks before my best friends could persuade me that it was fit for me to go to a Court, which, as I thought, had used my Lord Marlborough very ill. However at last they prevailed. And I remember the chief argument

was urged by my Lord Godolphin, who said that it could not be thought I made any mean court to the King and Queen, since to attend the Princess was only paying my duty where it was owing.

I waited therefore on my mistress to Kensington. The consequence was such as my friends, having no reason to apprehend it, had never thought of. The next day the Queen wrote to her sister the following letter :—

" Kensington, Friday, the 5th of February.

" Having something to say to you, which I know will not be very pleasing, I choose rather to write it first, being unwilling to surprise you ; though I think what I am going to tell you should not, if you give yourself the time to think that never anybody was suffered to live at Court in my Lord Marlborough's circumstances. I need not repeat the cause he has given the King to do what he has done, nor his unwillingness at all times to come to such extremities, though people do deserve it.

" I hope you do me the justice to believe it is as much against my will that I now tell you that after this it is very unfit Lady Marlborough should stay with you, since that gives her husband so just a pretence of being where he ought not.

" I think I might have expected you should have spoke to me of it. And the King and I both believing it, made us stay thus long. But seeing you was so far from it, that you brought Lady

Marlborough hither last night, makes us resolve to put it off no longer, but tell you she must not stay, and that I have all the reason imaginable to look upon your bringing her as the strangest thing that ever was done. Nor could all my kindness for you, which is ever ready to turn all you do the best way at any other time, have hindered me showing you that moment, but I considered your condition, and that made me master myself so far as not to take notice of it then.

" But now I must tell you, it was very unkind in a sister, would have been very uncivil in an equal, and I need not say I have more to claim. Which though my kindness would make me never exact, yet when I see the use you would make of it, I must tell you I know what is due to me and expect to have it from you. 'Tis upon that account I tell you plainly Lady Marlborough must not continue with you in the circumstances her Lord is.

" I know this will be uneasy to you, and I am sorry for it ; and it is very much so to me to say all this to you, for I have all the real kindness imaginable for you, and as I ever have, so will always do my part to live with you as sisters ought. That is, not only like so near relations but like friends. And as such I did think to write to you. For I would have made myself believe your kindness for her made you at first forget that you should have for the King and me,

and resolved to put you in mind of it myself, neither of us being willing to come to harsher ways.

"But the sight of Lady Marlborough having changed my thoughts does naturally alter my style. And since by that I see how little you seem to consider what even in common civility you owe us, I have told it you plainly, but withal assure you that let me have never so much reason to take anything ill of you, my kindness is so great that I can pass over most things and live with you as becomes me. And I desire to do so merely from that motive. For I do love you as my sister, and nothing but yourself can make me do otherwise. And that is the reason I choose to write this, rather than tell it you, that you may overcome your first thoughts; and when you have well considered, you will find that though the thing be hard, which I again assure you I am sorry for, yet it is not unreasonable, but what has ever been practised, and what you yourself would do, were you in my place.

"I will end this with once more desiring you to consider the matter impartially and take time for it. I do not desire an answer presently, because I would not have you give a rash one. I shall come to your drawing-room to-morrow before you play, because you know why I cannot make one. At some other time we shall reason the business calmly, which I will willingly do, or anything else that may show it shall never be my fault

if we do not live kindly together. Nor will I ever be other by choice, but your truly loving and affectionate sister, "M. R."

I am perhaps too much concerned in the affair to be a proper judge of this letter. However I shall take the liberty to remark that it seems not easy to reconcile the Queen's being sorry to say so much with her employing at the same time such useless repetitions; as if it had been a pleasure to her to remind her sister of the distance between them, and of what was due from the Princess of Denmark to the Queen of England. And I have wondered too, that so much kindness for a sister, big with child, and so much piety, for it must be observed the Queen was in devotion, did not hinder her from doing a thing which she owns is hard. Her Majesty indeed says that though it be hard, it is not unreasonable but what has ever been practised, and what the Princess herself would do in her place. What the Princess would have done in her place, nobody can tell. (She herself thought that she would not have done like the Queen.) But that it was not the constant practice is certain from many instances to the contrary, and particularly one at that very time in the case of the Marchioness of Halifax. And if the practice was not constant, how reasonable it was for the Queen to insist upon it in my case, I believe I may safely leave to the judgment of her most zealous advocates.

For how disagreeable soever to the Queen my conduct had been, it would have proved no easy task to her to find in any part of it a plausible reason for pressing the Princess to part with me. Would any person who deserves to be in the service, not to say intimate friendship, of a Princess, have acted otherwise than I did, in relation to those points in which only I can be supposed to have disobliged their Majesties ?

Would it have become me to be indifferent in the affair of the succession to the Crown ? And to be willing, without the necessity of public good, that my mistress, my friend, the Princess of Denmark, should yield her birthright to the Prince of Orange ?

Could I consistently with honour have advised the Princess to desist from her attempt to get a maintenance settled by Parliament and leave herself to the generosity of a King and Queen, who by several slights and affronts put upon her had showed how very little they were concerned about her happiness ?

Was the part which the Queen would have had me act in relation to the Prince's going to sea such as any person who had the least regard for his Highness's character and glory would have consented to perform ?

Doubtless my behaviour on all these occasions was criminal in the Queen's eyes, but this was only because she was Queen ; for she had formerly looked upon my attachment and fidelity to her sister in a very different light.

As a proof of this I shall give your Lordship two letters, which I received from her when she was Princess of Orange. I had many others in the same style which were lost in the hurry of the Revolution.

" Loo, September the 30th.

" Dr Stanley's going to England is too good an opportunity for me to lose of assuring Lady Churchill she cannot give me greater satisfaction than letting me know the firm resolution both Lord Churchill and you have taken never to be wanting in what you owe your religion. Such a generous resolution I am sure must make you deserve the esteem of all good people, and my sister's in particular. I need say nothing of mine ; you have it upon a double account, as my sister's friend, besides what I have said already ; and you may be assured that I shall always be glad of an occasion to show it both to your Lord and you.

" I have nothing more to add ; for your friendship makes my sister as dear to you as to me, and I am persuaded we shall ever agree in our care for her, as, I believe, she and I should in our kindness for you, were we near enough to renew our acquaintance.

" Marie."

" If it were as easy for me to write to my Lady Churchill as it is hard to find a safe hand, she might justly wonder at my long silence ; but I hope she does me more justice than to think it

my fault. I have little to say at present. To answer the melancholy reflections in your last is now too late ; but I hope my sister and you will never part. I send you here one for her, and have not any more time now than only to assure you that I shall never forget the kindness you showed to her who is so dear to me. That and all the good I have heard of you will make me ever your affectionate friend, which I shall be ready to show otherwise than by words whenever I have an opportunity."

Your Lordship sees by these letters that the very same tenor of behaviour towards the Princess, which afterwards displeased the Queen, gave me at that time a recommendation to her affection ; but the case was altered. And the Princess of Denmark was now, at the Queen of England's command, to put away that kind, dear friend whom the Princess of Orange had hoped she would never part with. And she was to do this, not for any fault I had committed, but only because I was the wife of my Lord Marlborough, who happened to be in disgrace with the King.

Had the Queen really had custom on her side to countenance her in this harsh command, yet surely what was mere custom, and had no law to support it, might well have been neglected in the present case, in favour of reason and humanity.

She calls her command hard because of the kindness she knew the Princess had for me. But

had she mentioned the reasons too of that kindness, the severity of her injunction would have been more conspicuous. I speak not now of the Princess's inclination for me, previous to services on my part, but of that kindness which proceeded from her experience of my disinterested attachment to her interests and happiness. I say disinterested attachment. For the Princess knew that the Queen, after her coming into England, did me many honours which would have engaged some people to fix the foundation of their future fortune in her favour, and that there was no person more likely than I to rise high upon this bottom, if I could have been tempted to break the inviolable laws of friendship. Nor was there the least probability that the Princess should outlive the King and Queen to recompense my fidelity by such means as the Royal Prerogative furnishes. And as to the present power the Princess had to enrich me, her revenue was no such vast thing as that I could propose to draw any mighty matters from thence ; and besides Sir Benjamin Bathurst had the management of it ; I had no share in that service.

I might add here, as a farther proof of the purity and integrity of my conduct, what I fancy you will easily believe :—that on some occasions I could, without losing my mistress's affection, have sacrificed her cause to make my court to the Queen. But so detestable a thought never entered into my soul, nor did I ever by asking any favour of the Queen, great or small, for myself or others

give her the least ground to hope she could have any hold of me on the side of my interest.

Before the Princess returned an answer to the Queen's letter of command to dismiss me, she sent to my Lord Rochester, showed him the answer she had prepared, and with all the earnestness that can be imagined, desired he would use his interest to assist her, and that he would carry her letter; which last she could by no means persuade him to do. He told her he would speak to the Queen, but could not give the letter to her. So the Princess sent it by one of her own servants. It contained these words :—

"Your Majesty was in the right to think your letter would be very surprising to me. For you must needs be sensible enough of the kindness I have for my Lady Marlborough to know that a command from you to part with her must be the greatest mortification in the world to me, and indeed of such a nature as I might well have hoped your kindness to me would have always prevented. I am satisfied she cannot have been guilty of any fault to you. And it would be extremely to her advantage, if I could here repeat every word that ever she had said to me of you in her whole life. I confess it is no small addition to my trouble to find the want of your Majesty's kindness to me upon this occasion, since I am sure I have always endeavoured to deserve it by all the actions of my life.

" Your care of my present condition is extremely obliging. And if you would be pleased to add to it so far as upon my account to recall your severe command (as I must beg leave to call it in a matter so tender to me and so little reasonable, as I think, to be imposed upon me, that you would scarce require it from the meanest of your subjects) I should ever acknowledge it as a very agreeable mark of your kindness to me. And I must as freely own that as I think this proceeding can be for no other intent than to give me a very sensible mortification, so there is no misery that I cannot readily resolve to suffer rather than the thoughts of parting with her. If after all this that I have said, I must still find myself so unhappy as to be farther pressed in this matter, yet your Majesty may be assured that as my past actions have given the greatest testimony of my respect both for the King and you, so it shall always be my endeavour, wherever I am, to preserve it carefully for the time to come, as becomes

" Your Majesty's

" very affectionate sister and servant,

" Anne.

" From the Cockpit,
" Feb. 6th, 1692."

To this the Princess received no answer but a message by my Lord Chamberlain to forbid my continuing any longer at the Cockpit.

It was the opinion of several people that the

King had no more power to remove anybody out of that house than out of any other buildings on that side the Park, it having been bought of the Duke of Leeds and settled at the Princess's marriage in King Charles's time on her and her heirs. But the Princess had resolved to do everything respectful to the King and Queen except yielding in that single point of parting with me. And therefore instead of insisting on the right, which she had in common with every other subject, of being mistress in her own house, she wrote to the Queen the following letter :—

" I am very sorry to find that all I have said myself, and my Lord Rochester for me, has not had effect enough to keep your Majesty from persisting in a resolution, which you are satisfied must be so great a mortification to me, as, to avoid it, I shall be obliged to retire and deprive myself of the satisfaction of living where I might have frequent opportunities of assuring you of that duty and respect, which I always have been and shall be desirous to pay you upon all occasions.

" My only consolation in this extremity is that, not having done anything in all my life to deserve your unkindness, I hope I shall not be long under the necessity of absenting myself from you, the thought of which is so uneasy to me, that I find myself too much indisposed to give your Majesty any farther trouble at this time.

" February the 8th, 1692."

Though my Lord Rochester be mentioned in this letter as having employed his good offices to prevail with the Queen to change her determination, there is little reason to think that his intercession could be very warm or urgent after the refusal he made to carry the former letter, though pressed to it by the most earnest entreaties.

At the same time that the Princess resolved to leave the Cockpit, she sent to speak with the Duchess of Somerset, of whom she desired to borrow Syon for some little time. The Duchess made her many expressions, and very soon after, having spoke to the Duke of Somerset of it, waited on her again to acquaint her in a very respectful manner that Syon was at her service.

As soon as this was known, the King did all he could to dissuade the Duke from letting the Princess have the house. But his Grace had too much greatness of mind to go back from his promise, so there was an end of that matter.

Before the Princess removed from the Cockpit, she waited upon her Majesty at Kensington, making all the professions that could be imagined, to which the Queen was as insensible as a statue. When she did answer her it was in the style of her letter.

Soon after the Princess's going to Syon a dreadful plot broke out, which was said to have been hid somewhere, I don't know where, in a flower-pot; and my Lord Marlborough was sent to the Tower.

To commit a peer to prison it was necessary there should be an affidavit from somebody of the treason. My Lord Romney therefore, Secretary of State, had sent to one Young, who was then in gaol for perjury and forgery, and paid his fine, in order to make him what they call a legal evidence. For as the court lawyers said :—Young, not having lost his ears, was an irreproachable witness. I shall not dwell on the story of this fellow's villainy, the Bishop of Rochester having given a full account of it in print.

Whether my Lord Marlborough's conspiracy with this Young was what the Queen meant in her letter to the Princess, where she speaks of the cause my Lord Marlborough had given the King to do what he had done, and of his unwillingness to come to such extremities, though people did deserve it, I know not. Nor indeed could I ever learn what cause the King assigned for his displeasure. But it is natural to think he would give the best reason he could for using in that manner a man who had done so much for the Revolution. Everyone knows that my Lord Marlborough had considerable employments under King James and might have hoped to be as great a favourite as anybody, could he have assisted in bringing about that unhappy Prince's scheme of fixing Popery and arbitrary power in England. It was highly improbable therefore that he, who had done so much and sacrificed so

much for the preservation of the religion and liberty of his country, should on a sudden engage in a conspiracy to destroy them. And though these considerations had no weight with the King, they had so much with my Lord Devonshire, my Lord Bradford, and the late Duke of Montagu, that they thought it infamous to send my Lord Marlborough to prison upon such evidence; and therefore when the warrant for his commitment came to be signed at the Council-table, they refused to put their hands to it, though at that time they had no particular friendship for him. My Lord Bradford's behaviour was very remarkable; for he made my Lord Marlborough a visit in the Tower, while some of our friends, who had lived in our family like near relations for many years, were so fearful of doing themselves hurt at Court, that in the whole time of his confinement they never made him or me a visit nor sent to enquire how we did, for fear it should be known.

My Lord Marlborough's being sent to the Tower having obliged me to go and stay at London to attend the affair of his releasement, I there received, among many others in the same style of tenderness, the following letters from the Princess. I have transcribed these to show you her goodness to me upon all occasions, and to give you a more lively impression of the cruelty of the Queen's command, that enjoined her sister to part with a friend so dear to her heart merely to gratify the royal pride in a point of ceremony.

"*To Lady Marlborough.*

"Though I have nothing to say to my dear Mrs Freeman, I cannot help enquiring how she and her Lord does. If it be not convenient to you to write, when you receive this, either keep the bearer till it is, or let me have a word or two from you by the next opportunity when it is easy to you; for I would not be a constraint to you at any time, much less now, when you have so many things to do and think of. All I desire to hear from you at such a time as this is that you and yours are well. Which, next to having my Lord Marlborough out of his enemies' power, is the best news that can come to her, who to the last moment of her life will be dear Mrs Freeman's.

"Friday night."

"*To Lady Marlborough.*

"I give dear Mrs Freeman a thousand thanks for her kind letter, which gives me an account of her concerns, and that is what I desire more to know than any other news. I shall reckon the days and hours, and think the time very long till the term is out, for both your sake and my Lord Marlborough's, that he may be at liberty and your mind at ease. You do not say anything of your health, which makes me hope you are well, at least not worse than when you were here. And dear Mrs Freeman don't say when I can see you,

if I come to town ; therefore I ask what day will be most convenient to you. For though all days are alike to me, I should be glad you would name one, because I am to take some physic and would order that accordingly. I confess I long to see you, but am not so unreasonable to desire that satisfaction till it is easy to you. I wish with all my soul that you may not be a true prophetess, and that it may be soon in our power to enjoy one another's company more than it has been of late, which is all I covet in this world."

"*To Lady Marlborough.*

"I am sorry with all my heart dear Mrs Freeman meets with so many delays ; but it is a comfort they cannot keep Lord Marlborough in the Tower longer than the end of the term ; and I hope, when the Parliament sits, care will be taken that people may not be clapped up for nothing, or else there will be no living in quiet for anybody but insolent Dutch and sneaking mercenary Englishmen. Dear Mrs Freeman, farewell ; be assured your faithful Mrs Morley can never change ; and I hope you do not in the least doubt of her kindness, which, if it be possible, increases every day, and that can never have an end but with her life. Mrs Morley hopes her dear Mrs Freeman will let her have the satisfaction of hearing from her again to-morrow.

"Thursday."

"*To Lady Marlborough.*

"Dear Mrs Freeman may easily imagine I cannot have much to say since I saw her. However I must write two words. For though I believe she does not doubt of my constancy, seeing how base and false all the world is, I am of that temper I think I can never say enough to assure you of it. Therefore give me leave to assure you they can never change me. And there is no misery I cannot readily resolve to suffer, rather than the thought of parting from you. And I do swear I would sooner be torn in pieces than alter this my resolution. My dear Mrs Freeman, I long to hear from you."

"*To Lady Marlborough.*

"My dear Mrs Freeman was in so dismal a way when she went from hence, that I cannot forbear asking how she does, and if she has yet any hopes of Lord Marlborough's being soon at liberty. For God's sake have a care of your dear self, and give as little way to melancholy thoughts as you can. If I could be as often with you as those that have it in their power, but not in their will, you should seldom be alone, but though I have not that satisfaction as much as I desire, I assure you my heart is always with you, and if wishes signified anything, you would have no uneasy minute.

"Though I long of all things to hear from my

dear Mrs Freeman, I am not so unreasonable as to expect the groom should come back to-night, if he comes to you at an unseasonable hour; therefore keep him till it is easy to you to write. But I am in hopes I shall have a word or two before I go to bed, because my dear Mrs Freeman has promised I shall hear from you.

"I fancy asses' milk would do you good, and that is what you might take morning or afternoon, as it is most convenient.

"I had no sooner sealed my letter but I received my dear Mrs Freeman's, for which I give her a thousand thanks, and am overjoyed at the good news you send me, which I hope will cure you of everything."

"*To Lady Marlborough.*

"I am in pain to know how my dear Mrs Freeman does, for she is not used to complain, nor to be let blood for a little thing; and therefore I cannot help enquiring what is the matter and how she finds herself now. I can come either to London or Camden House to-morrow or Monday or any other day. If you will let me know where and when and what time I may have the satisfaction of seeing you, your faithful Morley will be sure to meet you."

Your Lordship sees by these letters of tenderness how impossible it must have been for the Princess to comply with the Queen's desire, had it appeared less unreasonable than it did. How-

ever she was very attentive not to be wanting in any point of due respect. Falling in labour at Syon, she sent Sir Benjamin Bathurst to present her humble duty to the Queen and acquaint her with it, and that she was much worse than she used to be, as she really was. The Queen did not think fit to see the messenger nor to make any answer.

Notwithstanding this, when the Princess was brought to bed of a child, that died some minutes after the birth, she sent my Lady Charlotte Beverwaert to inform her Majesty of what had happened. My Lady waited some considerable time before the Queen saw her. The reason of this was my Lord Rochester's not being present when the message came. After some conversation with him the Queen sent for my Lady Charlotte and told her she would go that afternoon and see the Princess at Syon, and she was there very soon after the notice arrived.

She came attended by the Ladies Derby and Scarborough. I am sure it will be necessary to have a good voucher to persuade your Lordship of the truth of what I am going to relate. The Princess herself told me that the Queen never asked her how she did, nor expressed the least concern for her condition, nor so much as took her by the hand. The salutation was this :— "I have made the first step by coming to you, and I now expect you should make the next by removing my Lady Marlborough." The Princess

answered that she had never in all her life disobeyed her except in that one particular, which she hoped would some time or other appear as unreasonable to her Majesty as it did to her. Upon which the Queen rose up and went away, repeating to the Prince, as he led her to the coach, the same thing she had said to the Princess.

My Lady Derby did not come to the bedside, nor make the least enquiry after her health, though the Princess had recommended her for Groom of the Stole to the Queen on her accession to the Crown. Lady Scarborough indeed behaved herself as became her on that occasion, and afterwards asked the Queen's leave to visit me, because we had been old acquaintance, which was granted.

I have heard that the Queen, when she came home, was pleased to say she was sorry she had spoke to the Princess ; who, she confessed, had so much concern upon her at renewing the affair that she trembled and looked as white as the sheets. But if her Majesty was really touched with compassion, it is plain by what followed that she overcame herself extremely. For presently after this visit all company was forbid waiting on the Princess, and her guards were taken away.

I do not see how the most zealous advocates for the Queen can vindicate her in these proceedings to an only sister, nor how a man of that mighty understanding my Lord Rochester was said to have could think that a visit, which the

Queen made to every Countess, was so extraordinary a grace to a sister that it should oblige her to do what she had retired from the Court to avoid.

I must observe to your Lordship that the King was not in England when this last thing happened. My Lord Rochester was the Queen's oracle, and whether he had any share or not in beginning the ill-usage of the Princess, he was without question the prosecutor of it.

I fancy you have been wishing during all this story that I had made some proposal to the Princess, to free her from the trouble she was in and to save her from such indignities as surely have seldom, if ever, been offered to the presumptive heir of a Crown. When you have read some letters I had from her on the occasion, I believe you will be satisfied I did my part. I assure you that from the very beginning of the difference it was my earnest request to her to let me go from her ; for though, had I been in her place, I would not have complied with the Queen's demand, yet I thought that in mine I could not discharge what I owed to the Princess without employing every argument my thoughts could suggest to prevail with her to part with me. But whenever I said anything that looked that way, she fell into the greatest passion of tenderness and weeping that is possible to imagine. And though my situation at that time was so disagreeable to my temper that, could I have known how long

it was to last, I could have chosen to go to the Indies sooner than to endure it, yet had I been to suffer a thousand deaths, I think I ought to have submitted rather than have gone from her against her will.

As soon as the Princess was recovered from a fever, which followed the indisposition of her lying-in, and which, I believe, was in great measure caused by her trouble, she began to think she should be found fault with, if she did not express her thankfulness for the great honour the Queen had done her. Whereupon she sent to Doctor Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, to come to see her, intending to write to the Queen by him and to make use of his credit to soften her. On this occasion I had from her the two following letters :—

"*To Lady Marlborough.*

"I had last night a very civil answer from the Bishop of Worcester, whom I sent to speak with, but have heard nothing more of him since, so I dare not venture to go to London to-day for fear of missing him. If he comes in any time to-morrow, I will not fail of being with my dear Mrs Freeman about five or six o'clock, unless you are to go to the Tower. And if you do, pray be so kind as to let me know time enough to stop my journey. For I would not go to London and miss the satisfaction of seeing you. I could not forbear writing, though I had nothing

more to say but that it is impossible ever to express the kindness I have for dear Mrs Freeman."

"*To Lady Marlborough.*

"Sir Benjamin telling me you were not come to town at three o'clock makes me in pain to know how your son does, and I can't help enquiring after him and dear Mrs Freeman. The Bishop of Worcester was with me this morning before I was dressed. I gave him my letter to the Queen and he has promised to second it, and seemed to undertake it very willingly, though by all the discourse I had with him, of which I will give you a particular account when I see you, I find him very partial to her. The last time he was here I told him you had several times desired you might go from me, and I have repeated the same thing again to him. For you may easily imagine I would not neglect doing you right upon all occasions. But I beg it again for Christ Jesus's sake, that you would never name it any more to me. For be assured, if you should ever do so cruel a thing as to leave me, from that moment I shall never enjoy one quiet hour. And should you do it without asking my consent (which if I ever give you, may I never see the face of Heaven), I will shut myself up and never see the world more, but live where I may be forgotten by human kind."

The letter which the Princess sent to the Queen by the Bishop of Worcester was in these terms :—

" Syon, the 20th of May.

" I have now, God be thanked, recovered my strength well enough to go abroad. And though my duty and inclination would both lead me to wait upon your Majesty as soon as I am able to do it, yet I have of late had the misfortune of being so much under your Majesty's displeasure as to apprehend there may be hard constructions made upon anything I either do or not do with the most respectful intentions. And I am in doubt whether the same arguments, that have prevailed with your Majesty to forbid people from showing their usual respects to me, may not be carried so much farther as not to permit me to pay my duty to you. That, I acknowledge, would be a great increase of affliction to me, and nothing but your Majesty's own command shall ever willingly make me submit to it. For whatever reason I may think in my own mind I have to complain of being hardly used, yet I will strive to hide it as much as possible. And though I will not pretend to live at the Cockpit, unless you would be so kind as to make it easy to me, yet wherever I am, I will endeavour always to give the constant marks of duty and respect, which I have in my heart for your Majesty, as becomes

" Your Majesty's

" very affectionate sister and servant,

" Anne."

To this the Queen returned the following answer :—

" *To the Princess.*

" I have received yours by the Bishop of Worcester and have very little to say to it, since you cannot but know that as I never used compliments, so now they will not serve.

" 'Tis none of my fault we live at this distance, and I have endeavoured to show my willingness to do otherwise. And I will do no more. Don't give yourself any unnecessary trouble, for be assured it is not words can make us live together as we ought. You know what I required of you. And I now tell you, if you doubted it before, that I cannot change my mind but expect to be complied with, or you must not wonder if I doubt of your kindness. You can give me no other marks that will satisfy me. Nor can I put any other construction upon your actions than what all the world must do that sees them. These things don't hinder me being very glad to hear you are so well and wishing you may continue so, and that you may yet, while 'tis in your power, oblige me to be your affectionate sister,

" Marie R."

What sentiments the Princess had on receiving this harsh, peremptory declaration from the Queen you will see by her letter to me on that occasion :—

"The Princess to Lady Marlborough.

"I am very sensibly touched with the misfortune that my dear Mrs Freeman has had of losing her son, knowing very well what it is to lose a child; but she knowing my heart so well and how great a share I bear in all her concerns, I will not say any more on this subject for fear of renewing her passion too much.

"Being now at liberty to go where I please by the Queen's refusing to see me, I am mightily inclined to go to-morrow after dinner to the Cockpit, and from thence privately in a chair to see you some time next week. I believe it will be time for me to go to London to make an end of that business of Berkeley House.

"The Bishop brought me the Queen's letter early this morning, and by that little he said he did not seem so well satisfied with her as he was yesterday. He has promised to bear me witness that I have made all the advances that were reasonable. And I confess, I think the more it is told about that I would have waited on the Queen but that she refused seeing me, it is the better; and therefore I will not scruple saying it to anybody, when it comes in my way.

"There were some in the family, as soon as the news came this morning of our fleet's beating the French, that advised the Prince to go in the afternoon to compliment the Queen. And another asked me if I would not send her one. But we

neither of us thought there was any necessity of it then, and much less since I received this arbitrary letter. I don't send you the original for fear any accident may happen to the bearer, for I love to keep such letters by me for my own justification. Sure never anybody was used so by a sister ! But I thank God I have nothing to reproach myself withal in this business, but the more I think of all that has passed, the better I am satisfied. And if I had done otherwise, I should have deserved to have been the scorn of the world, and to be trampled upon as much as my enemies would have me.

" Dear Mrs Freeman, farewell. I hope in Christ you will never think more of leaving me, for I would be sacrificed to do you the least service, and nothing but death can ever make me part with you. For if it be possible I am every day more and more yours.

" I hope your Lord is well. It was Mr Maul and Lady Fitzharding that advised the Prince and me to make our compliments to the Queen."

As your Lordship has here read the Princess's final resolution, you may now perhaps be curious to know what were the Prince of Denmark's dispositions in relation to this affair. Some parts of the following letters will satisfy you in this point, as the rest will confirm what has been said of my desiring to leave the Princess, the ill-treatment she had met with in this reign from the

beginning, and the obligations she thought herself under to Lord Marlborough and me for our fidelity and diligent services to her.

" To Lady Marlborough.

" I really long to know how my dear Mrs Freeman got home ; and now I have this opportunity of writing, she must give me leave to tell her, if she should ever be so cruel to leave her faithful Mrs Morley, she will rob her of all the joy and quiet of her life ; for if that day should come, I could never enjoy a happy minute, and I swear to you I would shut myself up and never see a creature. You may easily see all this would have come upon me, if you had not been. If you do but remember what the Q. said to me the night before your Lord was turned out of all ; then she begun to pick quarrels ; and if they should take off twenty or thirty thousand pound, have I not lived upon as little before ? When I was first married we had but twenty (it is true indeed the King was so kind to pay my debts), and if it should come to that again, what retrenchment is there in my family I would not willingly make and be glad of that pretence to do it ? Never fancy, dear Mrs Freeman, if what you fear should happen, that you are the occasion ; no ; I am very well satisfied, and so is the Prince too, it would have been so however, for is capable of doing nothing but injustice ; there-

fore rest satisfied you are no ways the cause ; and let me beg once more, for God's sake, that you would never mention parting more, no nor so much as think of it ; and if you should ever leave me, be assured it would break your faithful Mrs Morley's heart.

" Friday morning.

" I hope my dear Mrs Freeman will come as soon as she can this afternoon, that we may have as much time together as we can. I doubt you will think me very unreasonable for saying this, but I really long now to see you again as much as if I had not been so happy this month."

" *To Lady Marlborough.*

" In obedience to dear Mrs Freeman I have told the Prince all she desired me, and he is so far from being of another opinion, if there had been occasion he would have strengthened me in my resolutions, and we both beg you would never mention so cruel a thing any more. Can you think either of us so wretched that for the sake of twenty thousand pound, and to be tormented from morning to night with flattering knaves and fools, we should forsake those we have such obligations to, and that we are so certain we are the occasion of all their misfortunes ? Besides can you believe we will truckle to who from the first moment of his coming has used us

at that rate as we are sensible he has done, and that all the world can witness, that will not let their interest weigh more with them than their reason. But suppose I did submit, and that the King could change his nature so much as to use me with humanity, how would all reasonable people despise me? How would laugh at me and please himself with having got the better? And which is much more, how would my conscience reproach me for having sacrificed it, my honour, reputation and all the substantial comforts of this life for transitory interest, which, even to those who make it their idol, can never afford any real satisfaction, much less to a virtuous mind? No, my dear Mrs Freeman, never believe your faithful Mrs Morley will ever submit. She can wait with patience for a sunshine day, and if she does not live to see it, yet she hopes England will flourish again. Once more give me leave to beg you would be so kind never to speak of parting more, for let what will happen, that is the only thing can make me miserable.

"Tuesday morning."

His Royal Highness continued steady in his opinion to the last, notwithstanding that almost all the servants in the family, and especially those whom I had brought into it, were frequently pressing him to have me removed. My Lord Berkeley indeed, though I believe he did not know that he was obliged to me for his employ-

ment of Groom of the Stole, said something very handsome to the Prince (as the Princess told me) to strengthen him in the contrary resolution. But my Lord Lexington, who was not so ignorant of the service I had done him, made the first return for it, by speaking to the Prince to put her out who had put him in.

But of all that happened to me of this kind nothing surprised me so much as the behaviour of Mr Maul. I had not only brought him to be Bedchamber man to the Prince, when he was quite a stranger to that Court, but to mend his salary had invented an employment for him, that of overlooking the Princess's accounts ; and I had done this without having been asked to do it. I had indeed a great value for him, and thought him so worthy a man and so much my friend that I might safely have trusted to his care my most important concerns. But you will see how extremely I was mistaken. This man never came near me during that time of trouble. And when I chanced to meet him at Syon, avoided as much as he could even to make me a bow, apprehending, I believe, that I should ask him to be Lord Marlborough's bail. Not that I then guessed this to be his reason, but I thought so afterwards ; because notwithstanding his strange coldness, even to rudeness, as soon as it was known that Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Burlington, Lord Carbury and Lord Halifax were to be bail for my Lord Marlborough, he came to see me and

offered himself for that service, making as if he knew nothing of what was so public. I thanked him and told him Lord Marlborough had friends who would bail him, but that one of his best friends was a paper that lay upon the table, which I had often kissed, the Act of Habeas Corpus.

But this was not the greatest proof I had of Mr Maul's ingratitude. He was one of those who were most urgent with the Prince that he would prevail with the Princess to put me away. For this end he took more pains than ordinary in attending on him. And I cannot help telling a very foolish thing he said to his Royal Highness, and what one would not have expected from a man that kept good company. The Prince one day, after being much pressed by him on my subject, answered that he had so much tenderness for the Princess, that he could not desire to make her so uneasy as he knew the parting with me would do. And besides he had done a great deal and been very ill used. To which Mr Maul replied that it was true his Highness had done a great deal, but if he refused this thing, it was like a cow that gave a great deal of milk and then kicked it down.

Very soon after this eloquent but unsuccessful pleading of Mr Maul, who had certainly been employed by my Lord Rochester, a letter came to the Princess from his Lordship, on occasion of the Queen's having forbid people to go to her.

The contents of it were these :—

" MADAM,

" I am afraid I may be guilty of too great presumption in giving your Royal Highness the trouble of a letter, but I do it with so good intentions that I hope you cannot be angry with me for it. And now that one is unhappily restrained from the honour of waiting upon your Royal Highness, there is no other way but this to make an offer of my humble duty to you. It is a very uncomfortable reflection for me to make, that being so really concerned as I am sure I am for your Royal Highness's happiness, I should be so unfortunate as to be wholly useless to you at a time when your Royal Highness cannot but think yourself that you have use of everybody that are truly and faithfully your servants. And however I have been so mistaken in my judgment as to have never offered anything to your Royal Highness worth your approbation, I do with all humility submit my poor opinion to that of your Royal Highness ; but beg you to believe it is not flattery to anybody else nor any other consideration that has made me be of the mind I was, but only the want of a better understanding to be able to think of something more for your service. And being thus incapable of myself to propose anything that is agreeable to you, I take this occasion humbly to offer to your Royal Highness all the little service you may judge me

fit to be employed in, and most earnestly to beseech you to believe that if I can be of any use in the world to your Royal Highness, there is nothing that I would endeavour with greater satisfaction to myself than at this time to express the great concern I presume to say I have for your Royal Highness by anything that I can do for your service. And if anything I have taken the confidence to say be worth your taking notice of, the least signification of your pleasure will bring me at all times to receive the honour of any of your commands; and the duty and zeal and passion I have for your true interest and prosperity will, I hope, make some amends for the want of a better judgment and capacity, which I acknowledge everybody has a greater share of than,

"Madam,

"Your Royal Highness's

"most obedient and most dutiful servant,

"ROCHESTER."

I cannot help thinking that there is something very absurd in the affected modesty and profound respectfulness of this letter; where his Lordship owns that everybody has more judgment and capacity than he and with all humility submits his poor opinion to that of her Royal Highness, and at the same time lets her know that this poor opinion, which he so submits, shall entirely govern him in his behaviour towards her. And the

perfect self-approbation he discovers, after lamenting the mistake of his judgment, is no less ridiculous. For he plainly intimates some expectation that she will send for him again and confess the wisdom of the senseless advice he had given her. I make no scruple to call his Lordship's advice senseless. For how unworthy soever he might think me of the extraordinary affection the Princess had for me, he could not hope, unless he were really the simpleton he says he is, that what had lately happened would be a means to cure her of it in any degree, and he must know that while she retained that affection, she could not part with me without extreme unhappiness to herself. And what had he to propose as a compensation to her for this unhappiness? Not the inward satisfaction nor the outward glory of having obeyed any law of God or of the land by removing me from her, but only the empty advantage of putting an end to their Majesties' open displeasure with her, a displeasure which did her no real hurt, and which, being so occasioned as it was, gained her credit with every mortal that had a heart.

The Princess was not imposed upon by his Lordship's duty or zeal or passion for her prosperity. She sent him the following answer to his letter :—

"*To the Earl of Rochester.*

"I give you many thanks for the compliments and expressions of service which you make me

in your letter ; which I should be much better pleased with than I am, if I had any reason to think them sincere.

" It is a great mortification to me to find that I still continue under the misfortune of the Queen's displeasure. I had hopes, in time the occasion of it would have appeared as little reasonable to the Queen as it has always done to me. And if you would have persuaded me of the sincerity of your intentions, as you seem to desire, you must give me leave to say I cannot think it very hard for you to convince me of it by the effects. And till then I must beg leave to be excused if I am apt to think this great mortification, which has been given me, cannot have proceeded from the Queen's own temper, who, I am persuaded, is both more just in herself than that comes to, as well as more kind to

" Your very affectionate friend,

" Anne."

And now the business of his Lordship was to make the Queen's order be complied with. He took great pains in it himself, and all the Ladies of the Bedchamber were employed either to speak or write to their relations and acquaintance. And this matter was so well followed, that at last the Queen herself sent to my Lady Grace Pierpoint to desire that she would not go to the Princess ; adding that if she did, she should not come to her, for she would see nobody that went to her

sister. My Lady Grace's answer was that she thought she owed a respect to the Princess ; that she had been civilly treated by her ; and that if her Majesty would not allow her to pay her duty to her, she would go no more to the Queen and the oftener to the Princess.

But this generous example of refusing meanly to submit to an unreasonable order was followed by very few, except those whom my Lord Marlborough and I engaged to pay the Princess all the respect possible. Two or three Jacobite ladies also came to her, because, as it was easy to observe, all of that interest rejoiced much at the quarrel.

My Lady Thanet was one of the first, who like my Lord Rochester (and I conclude not without his advice) made her excuse to the Princess by letter. I cannot now find it, but you may guess at the contents of it by the Princess's answer, which was this :—

" *To the Dowager Countess of Thanet.*

" It is no small addition to my unhappiness in the Queen's displeasure, that I am deprived by it of the satisfaction of seeing my friends, especially of such as seem desirous to see me, and to find by those late commands which her Majesty has given you that her unkindness to me is to have no end. The only comfort I have in these great hardships is to think how little I have deserved them from the Queen. And that thought, I hope, will help me to support them with less impatience.

"I am the less surprised at the strictness of the Queen's command to you upon this occasion, since I have found she can be so very unkind to, etc."

It was almost a year after this, and when it was of very little use, before Lady Thanet first and then Lady Hyde came to wait on the Princess. And their visits afterwards were very rare and only upon extraordinary occasions, as a lying-in or some great illness.

I have already mentioned beside this prohibition to visit the Princess the taking away of her guards. And these were not the only methods devised to mortify her. One very ridiculous thing was done with this view, while the Princess was at Bath. The following letter, signed by the Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of State, was despatched to the Mayor of the town, a tallow-chandler.

"Sir,

"The Queen has been informed that yourself and your brethren have attended the Princess with the same respect and ceremony as have been usually paid to the Royal Family. Perhaps you may not have heard what occasion her Majesty has had to be displeased with the Princess. And therefore I am commanded to acquaint you that you are not for the future to pay her Highness any such respect or ceremony without leave from her Majesty, who does not doubt of receiving

from you and your brethren this public mark of your duty. I am,

" Your most humble servant,

" NOTTINGHAM."

The King being abroad when this letter was writ, and the Queen being at that time wholly in my Lord Rochester's hands, everybody concluded that it was done by his advice. And I am myself the more fully persuaded of it from the fondness he discovered for such sort of pageantry, when in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign he made his progress in those parts, and took pains in begging treats and speeches from such sort of people. But it must be owned that his Lordship had a singular taste for trifling ceremonies. I remember when he was Treasurer, he made his white staff be carried by his chair-side by a servant bareheaded, in this among other things so very unlike his successor, my Lord Godolphin, who cut his white staff shorter than ordinary, that he might hide it by taking it into the chair with him.

But if my Lord Rochester believed, as I am persuaded he did, that this order to the Mayor of Bath would have great weight with the Princess, you will see by a short letter from her to me on the occasion how much he was disappointed.

" *To Lady Marlborough.*

" Dear Mrs Freeman must give me leave to ask her if anything has happened to make her

uneasy. I thought she looked to-night as if she had the spleen. And I can't help being in pain whenever I see her so.

"I fancied yesterday, when the Mayor failed in the ceremony of going to church with me, that he was commanded not to do it. I think 'tis a thing to be laughed at. And if they imagine either to vex me or gain upon me by such sort of usage, they will be mightily disappointed. And I hope these foolish things they do, will every day show people more and more what they are, and that they truly deserve the name your faithful Morley has given them."

Another foolish thing that was done by the same advice, as I suppose, was sending to the minister of St James's Church, where the Princess used to go while she lived at Berkeley House, to forbid him to lay the text upon her cushion, or take any more notice of her than of other people. But the minister refusing to obey without some order from the Crown in writing, which they did not care to give, that noble design dropped.

After all these notable efforts to subdue the Princess had been employed without success, and when we were got again, as I thought, into a settled, quiet way at Berkeley House, my Lord Rochester attempted once more to bring about his purpose by a stratagem. He came to Sir Benjamin Bathurst and to others of the Princess's family, insinuating to them that if the Princess

would put me away, he was persuaded the Queen would in some time be prevailed upon to let her take me again ; which was altogether improbable and indeed ridiculous ; because my only pretended fault was being my Lord Marlborough's wife, a fault which I could neither excuse nor extenuate nor repent of.

The Princess considered this project as nothing more than a new civil plot of my Lord Rochester's. However she was resolved to leave nothing undone on her part ; and therefore, knowing that my Lady Fitzharding could speak more freely to the Queen than anybody else whom she could employ, she sent for her and repeated to her my Lord Rochester's proposal, desiring her to acquaint the Queen that from what his Lordship had said she had been flattering herself she had mistaken her Majesty's last words ; and that if she might hope his Lordship had any ground for his opinion, she should be very ready to give her Majesty any satisfaction of that sort. Upon the delivery of this message the Queen fell into a great passion and said her sister had not mistaken her, for she never would see her upon any other terms than parting with me, not for a time but for ever, adding that she was a Queen and would be obeyed. Which fine sentence, my Lady Fitzharding confessed, the Queen repeated several times in their conversation ; and her Ladyship seemed to find great fault with the Queen's manner of speaking upon that occasion, though

excepting this time, my lady appeared to be a very good courtier.

The Princess after this continued at Berkeley House in a very quiet way. For there was nothing more to be done unless they would stop her revenue, which doubtless they would have attempted, had they thought it practicable. But my Lord Godolphin was then first commissioner of the Treasury, a man esteemed very useful to the service, and who they knew would quit upon any such orders. And they could not easily have found a person with qualities fit for that employment, who would have thought it consistent with honour or safety to take a place which another had left upon such an account, and at the same time refuse paying the revenue settled by an Act of Parliament on the next heir to the Crown.

I remember nothing more that happened of any moment relating to this disagreement till just before the Queen's death.

I shall only observe that notwithstanding all the harsh things done to the Prince and Princess, they never failed in the least thing which their friends thought proper for them to do to show respect to the King and Queen.

Particularly, on the King's return from Flanders, the Prince sent one of his family to present his humble duty to his Majesty and to acquaint him that the Princess having had the misfortune during his absence to receive many

public marks of the Queen's displeasure, he did not know whether it were proper for him to come to his Majesty as formerly, without endeavouring first to receive his Majesty's commands and to know how far it might be agreeable to him.

The Duke of Gloucester also waited several times on her Majesty, who made a great show of kindness to him and gave him rattles and several playthings, which were constantly put down in the Gazette. And whenever the Duke was sick, she sent a Bedchamber woman to Campden House to enquire how he did. But this compliment was made in so offensive a manner to the Princess that I have often wondered how any mortal could bear it with the patience she did. For whoever was sent used to come without any ceremony into the room where the Princess herself was, and passing by her, as she stood or sat, without taking more notice of her than if she were a rocker, go directly up to the Duke, and make their speech to him, or to the nurse, as he lay in her lap.

I believe it will be allowed that there was a good deal of insolence and ill-breeding in this behaviour, and that the Queen might with safety to all her dignity have found means to satisfy herself about the Duke of Gloucester's health without suffering to be done to the Princess what nobody before ever thought of and what no private person in this country would bear from another. And yet the return which the Princess, when she came to the

Crown, made to this rudeness of the Queen's women was to give them pensions, a thing which the King himself grew weary of doing some time before he died.

For several months before Queen Mary fell sick of the smallpox, the Princess, thinking herself with child, stayed constantly on one floor by her physicians' advice, lying very much upon a couch to prevent the misfortune of miscarrying. However upon the news of the Queen's dangerous indisposition she sent a Lady of her Bedchamber to present her humble duty to her and to desire that her Majesty would believe she was extremely concerned for her illness; adding that if her Majesty would allow her the happiness of waiting on her, she would notwithstanding the condition she was in run any hazard for that satisfaction.

This message was delivered to Lady Derby, who having carried it in to her Majesty, came out again some time after and said that the King would send an answer the next day. And accordingly my Lady Derby then wrote to the same Lady who had brought the message the following lines :—

" Madam,

" I am commanded by the King and Queen to tell you they desire you would let the Princess know they both thank her for sending and desiring

to come but, it being thought so necessary to keep the Queen as quiet as possible, hope she will defer it. I am,

"Madam,

"Your Ladyship's most humble servant,

"E. Derby.

"Pray, Madam, present my humble duty to the Princess."

This civil answer and my Lady Derby's postscript made me conclude more than if the College of Physicians had told it me that the disease was mortal. And as I knew that several people and even one of the Princess's own family were allowed to see the Queen, I was also fully persuaded that the deferring the Princess's coming was only to leave room for continuing the quarrel, in case the Queen should chance to recover, or for reconciliation with the King, if that should be thought convenient, in case of the Queen's death.

During all the time of the Queen's illness to her decease the Princess sent every day to enquire how she did; and once I am sure her Majesty heard of it; because my Lady Fitzharding, who was charged with the message and who had more desire than ordinary to see the Queen, broke in, whether they would or not, and delivered it to her, endeavouring to express in how much concern the Princess was. To which the Queen returned no answer but a cold thanks. Nor, though she received the Sacrament in her illness,

did she ever send the least message to the Princess, except that in my Lady Derby's letter, which perhaps her Majesty knew nothing of.

How this conduct to a sister could suit with the character of a devout Queen I am at a loss to know. For there is nothing more plain in Scripture than the 5th chapter of St Matthew, vv. 23 and 24: "Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift."

I will suppose for argument's sake, though I think it scarce possible, that the Queen might have so wrong an understanding as to think she had no reparation to make, and that the Princess had injured her in not being her slave. Yet even in that case there was something omitted; for we are taught to forgive the trespasses against us, as we expect to be forgiven.

Upon the death of the Queen the Princess, by advice of my Lord Sunderland and others, wrote the following letter to the King :—

"Sir,

"I beg your Majesty's favourable acceptance of my sincere and hearty sorrow for your great affliction in the loss of the Queen. And I do assure your Majesty I am as sensibly touched with this sad misfortune as if I had never been so unhappy as to have fallen into her displeasure.

" It is my earnest desire your Majesty would give me leave to wait upon you, as soon as it can be without inconveniency to you and without danger of increasing your affliction, that I may have an opportunity myself not only of repeating this but of assuring your Majesty of my real intentions to omit no occasion of giving you constant proofs of my sincere respect and concern for your person and interest, as becomes,

" SIR,

" Your Majesty's

" most affectionate sister and servant,

" ANNE."

The King had sense enough to know that it would be impossible to continue any longer an open difference with the Princess, without exposing himself to daily slights and a manifest disregard for his sovereign pleasure, for he could not hope that the nobility of England would be hindered, now the Queen was dead, from paying respect to a Princess who was next heir to him by Act of Parliament and who, if title by blood had taken place, would have had the Crown before him ; and he was well aware that everybody who had a mind to show they did not care for him would certainly do it by making their court to her.

Quickly after this letter therefore, the Princess, with the King's consent and at a time which he

appointed, waited on him at Kensington and was received with extraordinary civility.

And now, it being publicly known that the quarrel was made up, nothing was to be seen but crowds of people of all sorts flocking to Berkeley House to pay their respects to the Prince and Princess ; a sudden alteration which I remember occasioned the half-witted Lord Caernarvon to say one night to the Princess, as he stood close by her in the circle, " I hope your Highness will remember that I came to wait upon you, when none of this company did," which caused a great deal of mirth.

I never heard of anybody that opposed this reconciliation except my Lord Portland. But the person who wholly managed the affair between the King and Princess was my Lord Sunderland. He had upon all occasions relating to her showed himself a man of sense and breeding ; and before there was any thought of the Queen's dying, had designed to use his utmost endeavours to make up the breach ; in which however I am persuaded he could not have succeeded during the Queen's life. Her death made it easy to him, for the reasons I have mentioned, to bring the King to a reconcilement, and he also persuaded his Majesty to give the Princess St James's House.

But this and some other favours granted her at his Lordship's request were only to save appearances and for political views. It was very evident

that the King did not care any real respect should be shown to her Highness. For though to his death she never omitted anything that was due to him from her and by his order went several times to wait on him at Kensington, no ceremony was observed to her more than to any other lady, till the thing had caused some discourse in town. After which my Lord Jersey waited upon her downstairs once or twice but not oftener. If anybody ever came to meet her, it was a page of the backstairs or some person whose face was not known. And the Princess upon these occasions has waited an hour and half, just upon the same foot with the rest of the company, and not the least excuse was made for it.

I confess for my own part that in the point of respect to the King, and to the Queen when living, I thought the Princess did a great deal too much, and it often made me very uneasy. For I could not endure to have her do anything that I would not have done in her place. And all the friends I ever had in my life would not have prevailed with me to make any one step the Princess did during the quarrel, except the first letter she wrote to the Queen and the last message of offering to come to her in her sickness. But a letter which the Princess after the reconcilement wrote to the King upon the taking of Namur gave me, I think, more concern than any other instance of her respectfulness, though it was

advised by three Lords, whose judgments all the world valued. It ran thus :—

" Sir,

" Though I have been unwilling to give you the trouble of a letter upon any other occasion, yet upon one so glorious to your Majesty as the taking of Namur I hope you will give me leave to congratulate your good success, which don't please me so much upon any other account as for the satisfaction that I am sensible your Majesty must needs feel in this great addition to the reputation of your arms. And I beg leave, Sir, to assure you that as nobody is more nearly concerned in your interests, so nobody wishes more heartily for your happiness and prosperity at home than

" Your, etc.,

" Anne."

This letter, which seemed to me so unbecoming the Princess to write, served no other purpose but to give the King an opportunity of showing his brutal disregard for the writer ; for he never returned any answer to it, nor so much as a civil message.

Your Lordship has had some specimens of the manner in which his Majesty treated the Prince of Denmark before the quarrel. I shall now give you one of his behaviour to him after the reconcilement.

The King's Birthday coming just after the

news of the King of Denmark's death, the Prince, who had a great tenderness for his brother, was extremely uneasy at the thought of putting on colours so soon. And the Princess, knowing that it had been the custom in former reigns to wait upon the King on a Birthday without coloured clothes, when the mourning was very deep, found means to get my Lord Albemarle to ask the King's leave that the Prince might be admitted in his mourning to wish his Majesty joy. The answer was that the King would not see him, unless he came in colours ; and the Prince was persuaded to comply, though he did it with great uneasiness.

I believe I could fill as many sheets as I have already written with relating the brutalities that were done to the Prince and Princess in that reign. The King was indeed so ill-natured and so little polished by education, that neither in great things nor in small had he the manners of a gentleman. I shall give you an instance of his worse than vulgar behaviour at his own table, when the Princess dined with him.

It was in the beginning of his reign and when she was with child of the Duke of Gloucester. There happened to be a plate of peas, the first that had been seen that year. The King, without offering the Princess the least share of them, ate them every one up himself. Whether he offered any to the Queen I cannot say ; but he might do that safely enough, for he knew she durst

not touch them. The Princess confessed, when she came home, she had so much mind to the peas that she was afraid to look at them and yet could hardly keep her eyes off them.

But I shall conclude this subject of the King's conduct towards the Princess with some facts of a deeper concern to her than those incivilities I have just mentioned, and they will show how rightly she judged, when she formerly refused to leave the affair of her maintenance to his generosity.

When the Duke of Gloucester was arrived at the age to be put into men's hands, the King insinuated to such members of the Parliament as he knew were desirous to have the Duke handsomely settled, that it would require near £50,000 a year. And at the same time he promised other persons, whom he knew it would please, that he would pay Queen Mary in France her settlement, which was also £50,000 a year. And these steps he took in order to obtain an addition of £100,000 a year to his Civil List.

The addition was granted, yet he never paid one shilling to the Queen. And as to the Duke, the King not only kept him in women's hands a good while after the new revenue was granted, but when his Highness's family was settled, would give him no more than £15,000 a year. Nay, of this small allowance he refused to advance one quarter, though it was absolutely wanted to buy plate and furniture. So that the Princess was forced to be at that expense herself.

But this was not all. The King (influenced, I suppose, in this particular by my Lord Sunderland) sent the Princess word that though he intended to put in all the preceptors, he would leave it to her to choose the rest of the servants, except one who was to be Deputy Governor and Gentleman of the Duke's Bedchamber (which was Mr Sayers).

This message was so humane and of so different an air from anything the Princess had been used to that it gave her an extreme pleasure ; and she immediately set herself to provide proper persons, and of the most consideration, for the several places. Mr Boscawen and Secretary Vernon's son were to be Grooms of the Bedchamber, the sons of the Earls of Bridgewater and Berkeley were to be Pages of Honour, and so on. In the meantime the King was in no haste to finish the affair of the Duke's establishment ; and a little before he left England to go make the campaign, told my Lord Marlborough, who was now restored to the army, and was to be Governor to the Duke of Gloucester, that he would send a list from abroad of the servants he would have in the Duke's family, not in the least regarding the former message he had sent to the Princess ; which my Lord observing, took the liberty to put his Majesty in mind of it, adding that the Princess, upon the credit of that message, had engaged her promises to several persons ; and that not to be able to perform those promises would be so great

a mortification as he hoped his Majesty would not give her at a time when anything of trouble might do her prejudice, she being then with child. Hereupon the King fell into a great passion, and said she should not be Queen before her time, and he would make the list of what servants the Duke should have.

The King was so peremptory that my Lord Marlborough could say no more, and had no expedient left but to get my Lord Albemarle to try to bring him to reason, which his Lordship promised to do. And accordingly he took my Lord Marlborough's list of the persons the Princess had chosen and carried it with him into Holland. In conclusion that list was approved with very few alterations. But this was without question not so much owing to the King's goodness or my Lord Albemarle's persuasions, though I believe his Lordship did take pains in this matter, as to the happy choice the Princess had made of the servants. For the King upon cool consideration must perceive that he could not strike out of the list a greater number than he did without hurting himself more than the Princess. He only made my Lord Raby's brother an Equerry, and appointed to be Gentlemen-waiters two or three persons who had served the late Queen in such-like stations and had pensions on that account. And it was to save this money that the King did so ungentlemanlike a thing as to force the Princess to fail in some of her engagements. And

he gave afterwards another remarkable proof of his good management, for upon the news of the Duke of Gloucester's death he sent orders by the very first post to have all his servants discarded, a diligence of frugality which was surely not very decent in a King. It was by the contrivance of Lord Marlborough, assisted by Lord Albemarle, that the servants received their salaries to the quarter-day after the Duke died.

And now after all I have related of the King, and after so much dislike as I have expressed of his character and conduct, you will perhaps hardly believe me in what I am going to say. Yes, your Lordship will believe me, for you will judge of my heart by the make and temper of your own. When the King came to die, I felt nothing of that satisfaction which I once thought I should have had upon this occasion. And my Lord and Lady Jersey's writing and sending perpetually to give an account as his breath grew shorter and shorter filled me with horror. I thought I would lose the best employment in any Court sooner than act so odious a part. And the King, who had given me so much cause to hate him, in that condition I sincerely pitied. So little is it in my nature to retain resentment against any mortal, how unjust soever he may have been, in whom the will to injure is no more.

The King died and the Princess of Denmark took his place. This elevation of my mistress to the Throne brought me into a new scene of life and into a new sort of consideration with all those whose attention, either by curiosity or ambition, was turned to politics and the Court. Hitherto my favour with her Royal Highness, though it had sometimes furnished matter of conversation to the public, had been of no moment to the affairs of the nation, she herself having no share in the councils by which they were managed. But from this time I began to be looked upon as a person of consequence, without whose approbation at least neither places nor pensions nor honours were bestowed by the Crown. The intimate friendship with which the Queen was known to honour me afforded a plausible foundation for this opinion. And I believe therefore it will be a surprise to many to be told that the first important step which her Majesty took after her accession to the Government was against my wishes and inclination ; I mean her throwing herself and her affairs almost entirely into the hands of the Tories.

I shall dwell the longer and be the more particular upon the subject of my disagreement with her Majesty about parties that I may expose the injustice of those Whigs, who after the great change in 1710 accused me of being the ruin of their cause, a cause that in her reign would have been always too low to be capable of a fall but

for the zeal and diligence with which I seized every opportunity to raise and establish it ; which in the end proved the ruin of my favour with her Majesty.

The Queen had from her infancy imbibed the most unconquerable prejudices against the Whigs. She had been taught to look upon them all not only as republicans who hated the very shadow of regal authority but as implacable enemies to the Church of England. This aversion to the whole party had been confirmed by the ill-usage she had met with from her sister and King William, which though perhaps more owing to Lord Rochester than to any man then living was now to be all charged to the account of the Whigs. And Prince George, her husband, who had also been ill-treated in that reign, threw into the scale his resentments.

On the other hand the Tories had the advantage not only of the Queen's early prepossession in their favour but of their having assisted her in the late reign in the affair of her settlement. It was indeed evident that they had done this more in opposition to King William than from any real respect for the Princess of Denmark. But still they had served her. And the winter before she came to the Crown they had in the same spirit of opposition to the King, and in prospect of his death, paid her more than usual civilities and attendance.

It is no great wonder therefore, all these things

considered, that as soon as she was seated in the Throne, the Tories, whom she usually called by the agreeable name of the Church Party, became the distinguished objects of the royal favour.

Dr Sharp, Archbishop of York, was pitched upon by herself to preach her Coronation sermon and to be her chief counsellor in Church matters ; and her Privy Council was filled with Tories. My Lord Normanby, soon after Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Jersey and Nottingham, Sir Edward Seymour, with many others of the high-fliers, were brought into place ; Sir Nathan Wright was continued in possession of the Great Seal of England, and the Earl of Rochester in the Lieutenancy of Ireland. These were men who had all a wonderful zeal for the Church, a sort of public merit that eclipsed all other in the eyes of the Queen. And I am firmly persuaded that notwithstanding her extraordinary affection for me, and the entire devotion which my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin had for many years shown to her service, they would not have had so great a share of her favour and confidence, if they had not been reckoned in the number of the Tories.

The truth is though both these Lords had always the real interest of the nation at heart and had given proof of this by their conduct in their several employments in the late reign, they had been educated in the persuasion that the High Church party were the best friends to the con-

stitution both of Church and State, nor were they perfectly undeceived but by experience.

For my own part I had not the same prepossessions. The word Church had never any charm for me in the mouths of those who made the most noise with it ; for I could not perceive that they gave any other distinguishing proof of their regard for the thing than a frequent use of the word, like a spell to enchant weak minds ; and a persecuting zeal against dissenters, and against those real friends of the Church who would not admit that persecution was agreeable to its doctrine. And as to state affairs many of these Churchmen seemed to me to have no fixed principles at all, having endeavoured during the last reign to undermine that very Government which they had contributed to establish.

I was heartily sorry therefore that for the sake of such Churchmen others should be removed from their employments, who had been firm to the principles of the Revolution, and whom I thought much more likely to support the Queen and promote the welfare of our country than the wrong-headed politicians that succeeded them.

I resolved therefore from the very beginning of the Queen's reign to try whether I could not by degrees make impressions in her mind more favourable to the Whigs ; and though my instances with her had not at first any considerable effect, I believe I may venture to say it was in some measure owing to them that her Majesty

did against her own inclinations continue several of this party in office. And it is well known that when the Queen in the first year of her reign had determined to create four new peers, the Lords Granville, Guernsey, Gower and Conway, I prevailed that Mr Hervey (the present Earl of Bristol) might be a fifth, in spite of the opposition of the Tories, and especially of the four above-named ; who for a while refused to accept of the peerage, if Mr Hervey, a Whig, were admitted to the same honour.

But how difficult a task I prescribed to myself when I undertook to moderate her Majesty's partiality to the Tories and to engage her to a better opinion of their opposites will abundantly appear from the following letter, which I had the honour to receive from her about half a year after her accession to the Throne.

" St James's, Saturday the 24 Oct.

" I am very glad to find by my dear Mrs Freeman's, that I was blest with yesterday, that she liked my speech, but I cannot help being extremely concerned you are so partial to the Whigs, because I would not have you and your poor,[1] unfortunate, faithful Morley differ in opinion in the least thing. What I said when I writ last upon this subject does not proceed from any insinuations of the other party ; but I know the

[1] The Queen began to style herself after this manner upon the death of the Duke of Gloucester.

principles of the Church of England, and I know those of the Whigs, and it is that and no other reason which makes me think as I do of the last. And upon my word, my dear Mrs Freeman, you are mightily mistaken in your notion of a true Whig ; for the character you give of them does not in the least belong to them but to the Church. But I will say no more on this subject, only beg, for my poor sake, that you would not show more countenance to those you seem to have so much inclination for than to the Church party. Since you have stayed so long at Windsor, I wish now for your own sake that you would stay till after my Lord Mayor's Day ; for if you are in town, you can't avoid going to the Show, and being in the country is a just excuse ; and I think one would be glad of any to avoid so troublesome a business. I am at this time in great haste, and therefore can say no more to my dear dear Mrs Freeman but that I am most passionately her's."[1]

As my early zeal for the Whigs is incontestably manifest from what her Majesty here says to me, so I think it will be no less evident to anyone who reflects on my situation at that time, that this zeal

[1] The Queen very seldom dated her letters fully, and the year is not mentioned in the date of this, but it is evident from the contents, that it was written in 1702, the first year of her Majesty's reign ; for she went that year to my Lord Mayor's Show, and nothing but her going could have made it unavoidable for me to go if I were in town. And whoever will give themselves the trouble of the enquiry will find that the 24th of October fell that year on a Saturday, and that the Queen made her speech to the Parliament a few days before.

could proceed from nothing but conviction of the goodness of the cause I espoused.

For as to private interest the Whigs could have done nothing for my advantage more than the Tories. I needed not the assistance of either to ingratiate me with the Queen. She had both before and since her accession given the most unquestionable proofs that she considered me not only as a most faithful servant but as her dear friend. I have mentioned nothing of her extreme goodness to me since the breaking out of the quarrel between her sister and her, that I might not interrupt the relation of that matter in which my chief aim was the justification of my mistress's conduct and my own upon that occasion. Her letters to me afterwards, of which I have great numbers still by me, were in the same strain of tenderness as those you have read ; and upon her coming to the Crown she had not only made me her Groom of the Stole and Keeper of the Privy Purse, but had given the Command of the Army to my Lord Marlborough and the Treasurer's Staff to my Lord Godolphin, to whose son my eldest daughter was married.

It is plain therefore that I could have no motive of private interest to bias me to the Whigs. Everybody must see that, had I consulted that oracle about the choice of a party, it would certainly have directed me to go with the stream of my mistress's inclination and prejudices. This would have been the surest way to secure my favour with her.

Nor had I any particular obligations to the Whigs that should bend me to their side rather than to the other. On the contrary they had treated me very hardly, and I had reason to look upon them as my personal enemies, at the same time that I saw the Tories ready to compliment me and to pay me court. Even the pride of my Lord Rochester condescended to write me a very fine piece, when my Lady Charlotte Beverwaert died, that his daughter, my Lady Dalkeith, might be a Lady of the Bedchamber in her place. I confess indeed I was not a little surprised at this application from his Lordship. I thank God I have had experience enough of my own temper to be very sure I can forgive any injury, when the person from whom I have received it shows anything like repentance. But could I ever be so unfortunate as to persecute another without cause, as my Lord Rochester did me, I am confident that even want of bread could not induce me to ask a favour of that person. But surely his Lordship had something very uncommon in his temper.

What induced him to the present condescension was, I suppose, his late experience that I did not make use of my influence with the Queen to gratify any personal pique or resentment. For upon the Queen's accession to the Throne Lady Hyde had spoke to me that she might be a Lady of the Bedchamber, and I had served her very sincerely and effectually. For though the Queen

did not like her, yet as her Majesty had been pleased to forgive the ill behaviour of my Lord Rochester to her during the reigns of King Charles, King James, and Queen Mary, I thought it reasonable that his son's wife should be a Lady of the Bedchamber. There was in truth a particular pleasure in serving my Lady Hyde in this instance on her own account ; for in my life I never saw any mortal have such a passion for anything as she had to be in that post. While the thing was depending, she had so much concern upon her that she never spoke to me upon the subject without blushing. And after it was granted, she made me more expressions than ever I had from anybody on any occasion. Among other compliments I had this letter from her :—

" Monday morning.

" I have been three times in the Drawing-room in hopes to meet your Ladyship there, that I might myself tell you how extreme sensible I am of your Ladyship's favour to me. You will add another, if you will forgive my impatience, that cannot stay longer without thanking you myself, though Mrs Lowther has undertaken for me. I am very happy in my request being granted, and your Ladyship may depend any command of yours shall be obeyed, for I will not without your leave brag even to my Lady Hariotte, who did me the favour to speak to your Ladyship. I am

not good at saying much, but I am sure it will be a pleasure to me to show you in everything I can how faithfully and sincerely I am

"Your Ladyship's humble servant,

"J. Hyde."

In what manner this Lady treated me afterwards is not worth the while to mention.

As to my Lord Rochester's request in behalf of my Lady Dalkeith, it could not be granted, because in reality there was no vacancy. The Queen had resolved to have no more than ten Ladies, and the number was complete. There had indeed been eleven for some short time; but this had been occasioned by the Duchess of Somerset's declining to accept one of these places, when it was offered her at the settling of the Queen's family, and soon after desiring to have it, when they were all filled. As she was the first Protestant Duchess of England, I persuaded the Queen to be pleased in compliment to her Grace to have eleven Ladies for the little time Lady Charlotte Beverwaert had to live, who was then irrecoverably ill. So that when her Majesty complied, it was with full purpose that the number of her Ladies should be only ten after Lady Charlotte's death. And this answer having been given to several others who had solicited to succeed Lady Charlotte, my Lord Rochester could have no reason to be offended that the like excuse was made to him with regard to his daughter.

I have been the more particular on this affair, that it may appear the refusal my Lord Rochester met with was not owing to any resentment of mine against him or his family. And I do assure you most sincerely that I could so entirely have forgotten all his Lordship's ill-treatment of me as to have acted in concert and friendship with him, if I had thought he would have followed the Queen's true interest. But the gibberish of that party about non-resistance and passive obedience and hereditary right I could not think to forebode any good to my mistress, whose title rested upon a different foundation. On the other hand the principles professed by those called Whigs seemed to me rational, entirely tending to the preservation of the liberties of the subject and no way to the prejudice of the Church as by law established, for which I believe I may without vanity venture to say I had at least as much respect as the Duke of Buckingham or Sir Edward Seymour. And as this was really my way of thinking concerning the two parties, it would have been contrary to the frankness of my temper and to the obligations of that friendship with which the Queen honoured me not to have told her my sentiments without reserve. Nay I had her express command so to do. She had often urged me to it, in almost the same terms she uses in a letter of her own handwriting, which I have now before me :—

" You can never give me any greater proof of your friendship than in telling me your mind

freely in all things, which I do beg you to do, etc."

I did therefore speak very freely and very frequently to her Majesty upon the subject of Whig and Tory according to my conception of their different views and principles. It was at first to little effect. And perhaps I should never have succeeded so far as I did, if the leaders of the Tories had not, by the heat and agitation with which they overacted their part, exposed that monopolising ambition, which ought to have been better concealed under the cloak of zeal for the Church.

The Church of England, one would naturally think, could not be in any immediate danger of perishing under the care of such a nursing mother as the Queen, whose affection to it was never doubted, and who for its better security had chosen its most renowned champions to be of her ministry and Council. Nevertheless in the very first new Parliament after her Majesty's accession it was thought necessary with all diligence to provide new strength, new supports for this flourishing Church, as if it had been in the most tottering and declining condition.

One cannot better represent the noble spirit with which the zealots began their play than by transcribing some part of the Commons' Address to the Queen in answer to her most gracious speech at the opening of the sessions :—

"Your Majesty has been always a most illustrious ornament to this Church and has been exposed to great hazards for it, and therefore we promise ourselves that in your Majesty's reign we shall see it perfectly restored to its due rights and privileges and secured in the same to posterity ; which is only to be done by divesting those men of the power, who have shown they want not the will to destroy it."

The Queen in her speech had declared her resolution to defend and maintain the Church as by law established. Of this they tell her they have no doubt after her repeated assurances. But this was not enough. So illustrious an ornament of the Church must not content herself with protecting it in its legal rights, but she must contribute to restore it to its due rights :—that is, she must restore Tories and High Churchmen to their divine rights and privileges of possessing all the civil offices in the state and being the only men elected to serve in Parliament, to the exclusion of all Whigs and Low Churchmen, who being enemies of the Church and having a will to destroy it, must be divested of the power to execute their malice.

That this was the meaning of the Address I believe nobody doubts ; and the Occasional Conformity Bill, which in consequence of this zeal for the Church was soon brought into Parliament, did not aim at excluding from employments the

occasional conformists only but all those constant conformists too who could not relish the High Church nonsense of promoting religion by persecution. For as the Tories were well acquainted with her Majesty's entire devotion to the Church, they designed this bill as a test, whereby she might certainly distinguish its friends from its foes ; and they doubted not but she would reckon among the latter whoever should oppose so religious a scheme.

The bill, as everybody knows, was carried triumphantly through the House of Commons ; and the Prince of Denmark, though himself an occasional conformist, was persuaded to vote for it in the House of Lords. However it miscarried there, I forget how, to the great disappointment and mortification of the party. Nay it began to be suspected that some of the chief men at Court were not so zealous in the good cause as they should be. My Lord Rochester was, I think, the first of the Tory leaders that discovered a deep discontent with the Queen and her administration. Before the end of the year he resigned the Lieutenancy of Ireland in great wrath, upon her Majesty's being so unreasonable as to press him to go thither to attend the affairs of that kingdom, which greatly needed his presence. For as the revenue which had been formerly granted was out, it was necessary to call a parliament in order to another supply, and a parliament could not be held without a Lord Lieutenant.

But when the Queen represented these things to him, he told her with great insolence that he would not go into Ireland, though she would give the country to him and his son ; so that he seems to have accepted the post only that he might reign in Ireland by the ministry of his brother Keightley, as he hoped to do in England in person. Nor could he after his resignation overcome his anger so far as to wait upon the Queen or to go to Council ; which she observing ordered after some time that he should no more be summoned, saying it was not reasonable my Lord Rochester should come to Council only when he pleased.

Perhaps his Lordship's unwillingness to leave England might proceed from his zeal for the Church and from his fears lest it should be betrayed in his absence. But it was generally thought, and I believe with good reason, that the true source of his dissatisfaction was the Queen's not making him her sole governor and director, and my Lord Godolphin's being preferred before him for the Treasury ; which, if true, affords a remarkable instance how much self-love and self-conceit can blind even a man of sense, for such, by his party at least, he was esteemed to be. I don't wonder that he should like power (it is what most people are fond of) or that being related to the Queen he should expect a particular consideration. This was very natural and very reasonable, if he had behaved himself to her as

he ought ; but when one considers that his relation to her was by such a sort of accident, and that his conduct had been so very extraordinary, 'tis an amazing thing that he should imagine he was to domineer over the Queen and everybody else as he did over his own family.

Whether the Church was in any danger or not before, it could not be questioned by any good Churchman, but it now began to be in some peril when my Lord Rochester was no longer in place nor in the Council. The bill against occasional conformity was revived by the Tories the next sessions of Parliament, which proceeding, whatever regard it might show for the Church, did certainly show little respect or gratitude to the Queen, who had hitherto showered her favours upon the party. For her Majesty having been informed that this bill had alarmed a great part of her subjects, who were otherwise perfectly well affected to her Government and no less able than zealous to assist her in carrying on the war against the common enemy, had endeavoured in her speech by the warmest expressions to dissuade the Parliament from this measure, as it might prove a source of fatal divisions at home, where union and harmony were so necessary in order to the success of our affairs abroad.

But the interest of the Church, that is of High Churchmen, was to be preferred before the interest of the Queen or of the nation or the preservation of the liberties of Europe. The bill was therefore

brought in again, but though it had once more an easy passage through the House of Commons, it met with the same fate as the year before in the House of Lords.

This new blow to the Church was soon followed by another, the removal of Lord Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour from their employments ; and about the same time Lord Nottingham resigned his place of Secretary of State, because the Whigs were too much favoured.

The Whigs did indeed begin to be favoured and with good reason. For when they saw that my Lord Marlborough prosecuted the common cause with such hearty diligence and such unexpected success, they notwithstanding the partiality which had been shown to their opposites universally forgot their resentments, and no longer considering themselves as an oppressed party, ran in with the loudest acclamations, extolling his merit and services. And as the trade and money of the nation were chiefly in the hands of those who espoused the cause in which the ministry were then engaged, it is no wonder that my Lord Godolphin began to pay them as much regard as the times and the Queen's prejudices would permit him to do.

The Church in the meanwhile, it must be confessed, was in a deplorable condition, the Earls of Rochester, Jersey and Nottingham and Sir Edward Seymour out of place and the Whigs coming into favour. It was resolved therefore the next sessions

of Parliament to tack the Occasional Conformity Bill to the Money Bill, a resolution which showed the spirit of the party in its true light. But it happened that my Lord Marlborough in the summer before the Parliament met, gained the Battle of Blenheim. This was an unfortunate accident ; and by the visible dissatisfaction of some people on the news of it, one would have imagined that instead of beating the French he had beat the Church. And I cannot here omit one remarkable instance of true party spirit in the Tories on this occasion. My Lord Marlborough, before he had had sufficient opportunity of showing the greatness of the general, had for his first successes in the war been complimented by this very House of Commons as the retriever of the glory of the English nation, being then reputed a High Churchman. But now that he was thought to look towards the moderate party, his complete victory at Blenheim was in the address of congratulation to the Queen ridiculously paired with Sir George Rooke's drawn battle with the French at sea.

However neither the glory of this victory nor the important consequences of it could be hid, even from the eyes of those who would have been the most willing not to see them. The power of France was broken by it to a great degree, and the liberties and peace of Europe were in a fair way to be established upon firm and lasting foundations. The less violent part of the Tories

therefore could not be prevailed with to hazard these great and pleasing hopes by tacking them to the fortune of the Occasional Conformity Bill. The tack was rejected by the majority of the members even of this House of Commons, so rich in Tories and High Churchmen. And though the Bill by itself was afterwards passed in that House, it was again thrown out by the Lords.

The last great wound given to the Church this year was by the Queen's taking the Privy Seal from the Duke of Buckingham.

And the next year I prevailed with her Majesty to take the Great Seal from Sir Nathan Wright, a man despised by all parties, of no use to the Crown, and whose weak and wretched conduct in the Court of Chancery had almost brought his very office into contempt. His removal however was a great loss to the Church, for which he had ever been a warm stickler. And this loss was the more sensibly felt, as his successor, my Lord Cowper, was not only of the Whig party but of such abilities and integrity as brought a new credit to it in the nation.

But what was worse than all these misfortunes, the majority of the House of Commons in the new Parliament of 1705 proved to be Whig.

No wonder if in these sad circumstances a loud and piteous cry was raised upon the extreme danger of the poor Church. A doleful piece, penned by some of the zealots of the party and called *The Memorial of the Church of England*,

was printed and spread abroad, setting forth her melancholy condition and distress ; and much lamentation it occasioned. But what remedy ? There could be no hope of getting an Occasional Conformity Bill passed in this Parliament. One expedient still remained, and this was to invite the Princess Sophia of Hanover, the present King's grandmother, to come over and defend the Church. Her presence here, though she would not probably, as being a Lutheran, be very zealous for a bill against occasional conformists, yet might happily prove a means to hinder the Whigs from bringing in Popery and the Pretender. A motion was therefore made in the House of Lords for this invitation ; and the necessity of it was urged with great strength of argument by the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham and the other grave men of the party. Not that they had the least hope or the least desire to carry their point, but being well assured that the Queen would never consent to such an invitation, nor pardon her ministers if they encouraged the design, this was a notable stratagem to ruin them, either with her Majesty or with the nation ; for if in compliance with her prejudices they opposed this motion, it was to be hoped it would draw the public odium upon them, as declared enemies to the Protestant Succession.

This hopeful scheme however did not succeed. The Whigs opposed the invitation and yet preserved their credit to the great mortification

of the other party. I know that my Lord Godolphin and other great men were much reflected upon by some well-disposed persons for not laying hold of this opportunity, which the Tories put into their hands, of more effectually securing the succession to the Crown in the House of Hanover. But those of the Whigs whose anger against the minister was raised on this account, little knew how impracticable the project of invitation was, and that the attempt would have only served to make the Queen discard her ministry, to the ruin of the common cause of these kingdoms and of all Europe. I had often tried her Majesty upon this subject ; and when I found that she would not hear of the immediate successor's coming over, had pressed her that she would at least invite hither the young Prince of Hanover, who was not to be her immediate successor, and that she would let him live here as her son ; but her Majesty would listen to no proposal of this kind in any shape whatsoever.

To give a full answer to all objections against the ministers' conduct with regard to this matter, I shall here relate a transaction that passed three years afterwards, which will show not only the insincerity of the Tories in their zeal for the House of Hanover, when they moved for the Princess Sophia's being invited hither, but how insuperably averse the Queen was to suffer the presence of any of that family.

My Lord Haversham, a great speech-maker and

publisher of his speeches, and who was become the mouth of the party for any extraordinary alarm, was sent privately by the Tories to the Queen to acquaint her with the discovery they pretended to have made of a terrible design formed by the Whigs to bring over one of the House of Hanover and to force this upon her whether she would or not. Now can anything be more curious than such a message from the Tories and by such a messenger? For my Lord Haversham was the man who had moved for the Princess Sophia's coming over as a thing necessary for the preservation of the Protestant religion. But now any design of inviting hither one of that family was of so frightful a nature that it must be esteemed meritorious to give early notice of the danger. I shall make no further comment upon this proceeding, but transcribe a part of the Queen's letter to the Duke of Marlborough upon this occasion:—

"July 22nd, 1708.

"I cannot end this without giving you an account in short of a visit I had from Lord Haversham. He told me his business was to let me know there was certainly a design laying between the Whigs and some great men to have an address made in the next sessions of Parliament for inviting the Electoral Prince over to settle here, and that he would certainly come to make a visit as soon as the campaign was over, and that

there was nothing for me to do to prevent my being forced to do this (as I certainly would) but my showing myself to be Queen and making it my own act. I told him if this matter should be brought into Parliament, whoever proposed it, whether Whig or Tory, I should look upon neither of them as my friends, nor would ever make any invitation neither to the young man nor his father nor his grandmother.

"What I have to say upon this subject at this time is to beg you would find whether there is any design where you are, that the young man should make a visit in the winter, and contrive some way to put any such thought out of their head, that the difficulty may not be brought upon me of refusing him leave to come, if he should ask it, or forbidding him to come, if he should attempt it. For one of these two things I must do, if either he or his father should have any desires to have him see this country, it being a thing I cannot bear to have any successor here, though but for a week. And therefore I shall depend upon you, to do everything on the other side of the water to prevent this mortification from coming upon her, that is and ever will be most sincerely, etc."

To return to the motion for inviting the Princess Sophia. It was upon this occasion that the Queen gave the first indications of anything like a real reconcilement to the Whigs. For though she had

been prevailed with to express a desire that the Parliament would avoid measures tending to create divisions and animosities at home (meaning the Occasional Conformity Bill), yet you will see by the following letters from her Majesty to me how much she leaned all along in her inclination to the Tories, and even to those very measures she would have dissuaded them from, and which she only thought unseasonable at that time.

" Friday morning.

" I give my dear Mrs Freeman many thanks for her long letter, and am truly sensible of the sincere kindness you express in it ; and in return, to ease your mind, I must tell you Mr Bromley will be disappointed, for the Prince does not intend to go to the House, when the Bill of Occasional Conformity is brought in ; but at the same time that I think him very much in the right not to vote in it, I shall not have the worse opinion of any of the Lords that are for it ; for though I should have been very glad it had not been brought into the House of Commons, because I would not have had any pretence given for quarrelling, I can't help thinking now it is as good as passed there, it will be better for the service to have it pass the House of Lords too. I must own to you that I never cared to mention anything on this subject to you, because I knew you would not be of my mind ; but since you have given me this occasion, I can't forbear saying

that I see nothing like persecution in this Bill. You may think it is a notion Lord Nottingham has put into my head, but upon my word it is my own thought. I am in hopes I shall have one look before you go to St Alban's, and therefore will say no more now, but will answer your letter more at large some other time, and only promise my dear Mrs Freeman faithfully, I will read the book she sent me, and beg she would never let difference of opinion hinder us from living together as we used to do. Nothing shall ever alter your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley, who will live and die with all truth and tenderness yours." [1]

The following letters from the Queen to me relate to the Occasional Conformity Bill, when it was intended to tack it to the Money Bill in 1704 :—

" November 17th, 1704.

" I am sure nobody shall endeavour more to promote it than your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley, who doth not at all doubt of your truth and sincerity to her and hopes her not agreeing

[1] It is evident that this letter, though it bears no other date than Friday morning, was written about the beginning of December 1703, when the Occasional Conformity Bill was brought in by Mr Bromley. And it is probable from some words in the letter that this Bill had passed the Committee, when the Queen wrote. Lord Nottingham, by whose advice, the Queen supposes, that I believe her influenced, was then Secretary of State. The Prince of Denmark did not vote for the Bill this year, nor go to the House on this occasion, so that Mr Bromley was disappointed.

in everything you say will not be imputed to want of value, esteem or tender kindness for my dear, dear Mrs Freeman, it being impossible for anyone to be more sincerely another's than I am yours."

" St James's, November the 21st.

" I had just sealed up my letter on Saturday night as I received the satisfaction of my dear Mrs Freeman's of that day's date, but would not open it again, concluding I should have time either Sunday or yesterday to thank you for it. When Sunday came I had several hindrances, and yesterday I sat down to write, but was hindered by one of the Scots people coming to speak with me, or else I should not have been so long without telling you I am very sorry you should forbear writing upon the apprehension of your letters being troublesome, since you know very well they are not, nor ever can be so but the contrary, to your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley. Upon what my dear Mrs Freeman says again concerning the Address, I have looked it over again, and cannot for my life see one can put any other interpretation upon that word ' pressures ' than what I have done already. As to my saying the Church was in some danger in the late reign, I cannot alter my opinion ; for though there was no violent thing done, everybody that will speak impartially must own that everything was leaning towards the Whigs, and whenever

that is, I shall think the Church beginning to be in danger."[1]

But though it appears by these letters that the Queen was not hitherto inwardly converted to the Whigs, neither by all that I had been able to say nor even by the mad conduct of the tacking Tories, yet as I before hinted, their behaviour in the affair of the Invitation occasioned something like a change in her. She had been present at the debates in the House of Lords upon that subject and had heard the Duke of Buckingham treat her with great disrespect, urging as an argument for inviting over the Princess Sophia, that the Queen might live till she did not know what she did and be like a child in the hands of others, and a great deal to the same effect. Such rude treatment from the Tories, and the zeal and success of the Whigs in opposing a motion so extremely disagreeable to her, occasioned her to write to me in the following terms :—

"I believe dear Mrs Freeman and I shall not disagree as we have formerly done, for I am sensible of the services those people have done me that you have a good opinion of, and will countenance them, and am thoroughly convinced of the

[1] It would be hard to determine from the imperfect date of this letter or the subject-matter of it, whether it was writ in 1703 or 1704; but as the first lines of it show that it was written on a Tuesday, this fixes it to 1704, the 21st of November falling that year on a Tuesday. The Occasional Conformity Bill was read the first time 23rd November.

malice and insolence of them that you have always been speaking against."

And at this same time her Majesty authorised my Lord Godolphin to give the utmost assurances to the chief men of the Whigs that she would put herself and her affairs into such hands as they should approve and would do everything possible for the security of the Protestant Succession.

But notwithstanding this, it was not till after much solicitation that her Majesty could be prevailed with so far to oblige the Whigs as to make my Lord Sunderland Secretary of State in the room of Sir Charles Hedges. The Whigs, after the services they had done and the assurances the Queen had given them, thought it reasonable to expect that one of the Secretaries at least should be such a man as they could place a confidence in. They believed they might trust my Lord Sunderland ; and though they did not think him the properest man for the post, yet being my Lord Marlborough's son-in-law they chose to recommend him to her Majesty, because, as they expressed themselves to me, they imagined it was driving the nail that would go.

I must observe here that my Lord Marlborough was not in his inclination for this promotion of my Lord Sunderland. I have a letter from him expressing his dislike to the design. But how hard pressed both he and my Lord Godolphin

were by the Whigs to have it brought to effect will fully appear by the following letter on the same subject.

"Grametz, October 1706.

"When I writ my last, I was very full of the spleen, and I think with too much reason. My whole time, to the best of my understanding, has been employed for the public good, as I do assure you I do in the presence of God, neglecting no opportunity of letting 83[1] see what I take to be her true interest. It is terrible to go through so much uneasiness. I do not say this to flatter any party, for I will never do it, let the consequence be what it will. For as parties they are both in the wrong. But 'tis certain 73 and his adherents are not to be trusted. So that 83 has no choice but that of employing those who will carry on the war and support 91.[2] And if any other method is taken, I know we shall go into confusion. Now this being the case, I leave you to judge whether I am dealt kindly with. I do not say this for any other end but to have your justice and kindness, for in that will consist my future happiness. I am sure I would venture a thousand lives, if I had them, to procure ease and happiness to the Queen. And yet no number of men could persuade me to act as a minister in what was not my opinion. So that I shall never fail in speaking my mind very freely. And as my opinion is that the tackers

[1] The Queen. [2] Lord Godolphin.

and all the adherents of 73 are not for carrying on the war, which is for the true interest of the Queen and kingdom, you may depend I shall never join with any but such as I think will serve her and the true interest of our country with all their hearts. And if the war continues but one year longer with success, I hope it will not be in anybody's power to make the Queen's business uneasy. And then I shall be glad to live as quiet as possible, and not envy the governing men, who would then I believe think better of 90 and 91[1] than they now do. And I will own frankly to you that the jealousy some of your friends have that 90 and 91 do not act sincerely makes me so weary that, were it not for my gratitude for 83 and concern for 91, I would now retire and never serve more. For I have had the good luck to deserve better from all Englishmen than to be suspected for not being in the true interest of my country ; which I am in, and ever will be, without being of a faction. And this principle shall govern me for the little remainder of my life. I must not think of being popular ; but I shall have the satisfaction of my going to the grave with the opinion of having acted as became an honest man. And if I have your esteem and love, I should think myself entirely happy. Having writ thus far I have received your two letters of the 20th and 21st, which confirm me in my opinion before. And since the resolution is taken

[1] Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin.

to vex and ruin 91, because 83 has not complied with what was desired for 117,[1] I shall from henceforward despise all mankind and think there is no such thing as virtue. For I know with what zeal 91 has pressed 83 in that matter. I do pity him and shall always love him as long as I live, and never be a friend to any that can be his enemy.

"I have writ my mind very freely to 83 on this occasion, so that whatever misfortune may happen, I shall have a quiet mind, having done what I thought my duty. And as for the resolution of making me uneasy, I believe they will not have much pleasure in that, for as I have not set my heart on having justice done me, I shall not be disappointed, nor will I be ill-used by any man."

I shall here add a letter of my own to the Queen on the same subject, and the rather because it not only confirms what I have said of her Majesty's unwillingness to oblige the Whigs, but shows that as much as I opposed the Tories, I was no enemy to the Church they talked of, so far as anything real and excellent was meant by that word; and because it contains so just a prediction of the usage the Queen afterwards met with, when she fell into the hands of the High Church party.

"By the letter I had from your Majesty this morning and the great weight you put upon the

[1] Lord Sunderland.

difference betwixt the word notion and nation in my letter, I am only made sensible, as by many other things, that you were in a great disposition to complain of me, since to this moment I cannot for my life see any essential difference betwixt these two words as to the sense of my letter, the true meaning of which was only to let your Majesty know, with that faithfulness and concern which I have ever had for your service, that it was not possible for you to carry on your government much longer with so much partiality to one sort of men, though they lose no occasion of disserving you and of showing the greatest inveteracy against my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Treasurer, and so much discouragement to others, who even after great disobligations have taken several opportunities to show their firmness to your Majesty's interest and their zeal to support you, and your ministers too, only because they had been faithful and useful servants to you and the public.

"This was all the sense and meaning of my letter, and if you can find fault with this, I am so unhappy as that you must always find fault with me; for I am incapable of thinking otherwise as long as I live, or of acting now but upon the same principle that I served you before you came to the Crown for so many years, when your unlimited favour and kindness to me could never tempt me to make use of it in one single instance that was not for your interest and service. I am

afraid I have been too long in explaining my thoughts upon the subject of my own letter, which it seems has been so great an offence, and how justly I leave you to judge ; and I must beg your patience, since I am not very like to trouble you again, to let me say something upon the subject of your letter to my Lord Treasurer, which he has shown me to-day with more concern than I know how to express. This was indeed the subject of my own letter and the occasion of it, for I do not only see the uneasiness and the grief he has to leave your service, when you seem so desirous he should continue in it, but I see as well as he the impossibility of his being able to support it or himself or my Lord Marlborough, for it all hangs upon one thread ; and when they are forced to leave your service, you will then indeed find yourself in the hands of a violent party, who I am sure will have very little mercy or even humanity for you. Whereas you might prevent all these misfortunes by giving my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Marlborough (whom you may so safely trust) leave to propose those things to you which they know and can judge to be absolutely necessary for your service, which will put it in their power to influence those who have given you proofs both of their being able to serve you and of their desiring to make you great and happy. But rather than your Majesty will employ a party-man, as you are pleased to call Lord Sunderland, you will put all

things in confusion, and at the same time that you say this, you employ Sir C. Hedges, who is in one against you, only that he has voted in remarkable things that he might keep his place ; and he did the same thing in the late King's time till at last that everybody saw he was just dying and he could lose nothing by differing with that Court. But formerly he voted with those men, the enemies to this Government call Whigs, and if he had not been a party-man, how could he have been a Secretary of State, when all your Councils were influenced by my Lord R., Lord Nott., Sir E. Seymour, and about six or seven more just such men, that call themselves the heroes for the Church ? But what Church can any man be of that would disturb so just a government as yours, or how can anybody be in the true interest of England that opposes you and your ministers, by whose advice, in four years' time, you are very near pulling down the power of France and making that religion they only talk of not only more secure than in any of the late reigns, but putting it upon a better foundation than it has been since the Reformation ?

" You are pleased to say you think it a great hardship to persuade a man to part with a place he is in possession of for one that is not vacant. In some cases that were certainly right, but not in this ; for Sir Charles Hedges can have the place he desires immediately, and it is much better for him, unless he could be Secretary of State for

life. He will have two places that are considerable, one of which he can compass no other way, and this is so far from being a hardship that he and all the world must think it a great kindness done him, and he must be a very weak man, if he lost the opportunity of having such a certainty, when he can't flatter himself that whatever happens he can be supported long in a place of that consequence for which he is so unfit. He has no capacity, no quality, no interest, nor ever could have been in that post, but that everybody knows my Lord Rochester cares for nothing so much as a man that he thinks will depend upon him. I beg your Majesty's pardon for not waiting upon you, and I persuade myself that long as my letter is, it will be less troublesome to your Majesty."

It was a wonder to many that this affair of my Lord Sunderland's promotion met with such difficulties, considering his relation to my Lord Marlborough, whose merit with his Queen and country was every year augmenting. For whilst this matter was in suspense, he obtained the victory of Ramillies. On which occasion her Majesty in a letter, dated from Kensington, May 17, 1706, told him she wanted words to express the true sense she had of the great service he had done his country and her in that great and glorious victory, and hoped that it would be a means to confirm all good and honest people in their principles and frighten others from being troublesome ; and then spoke of the allay it was

to all her satisfaction to consider what hazards he was exposed to, and repeated an obliging request she had often made, that he would be careful of himself. I cannot doubt of the Queen's kind dispositions to my Lord Marlborough at this time, or her willingness in general to oblige him. And it quickly appeared that the difficulties raised by her Majesty against parting with Sir Charles Hedges were wholly owing to the artifice and management of Mr Harley, the other Secretary of State, whose interest and secret transactions with the Queen were then doubtless in their beginning. This man had been put into that post by the Lords Marlborough and Godolphin, when my Lord Nottingham in disgust resigned it. They thought him a very proper person to manage the House of Commons, upon which so much always depends. And his artifices had won upon them so far that they could not be persuaded but they might securely trust him, till experience too late convinced them of the contrary. And indeed (not to mention other parts of his behaviour) who would have thought that the man who had wrote the following letter on occasion of Lord Blandford's death, could so soon have been laying schemes for the destruction of the person to whom it was written ?

" My Lord,

" There is no servant of your Grace's is more sensibly affected with, I will not call it your

Grace's loss but our common misfortune, than myself. And I wish to God the part I can bear of it would discharge your Grace of any of the burden. I do feel it that a limb is torn off; therefore I think for the preservation of the residue the blood should be staunched, I mean grief should be moderated. Time I know is the best physician in this case, but our necessities require a quicker remedy. And I doubt not but your Grace's greatness of mind will give what is due to nature without taking anything from reason. Be pleased to consider that the nation are your children; the public needs all your care, how little soever it may deserve it.

"I shall pay my duty to your Grace when you will permit me; in the meantime I beseech your pardon for this overflowing of my passion, which is the effect of the dutiful affection of,

"My Lord,

"Your Grace's most humble

"and most obedient servant,

"Ro. Harley.

"March 1, 1702/3."

But to return, it is no wonder that Mr Harley, with such views as he then had, should be unwilling to see a Secretary of State displaced, over whom he thought he had some influence and through whose hands the greater part of the business of his own office (scandalously neglected

by himself) used to pass; and much more unwilling to have him succeeded by a person over whom he had no power whatsoever.

As for Sir Charles Hedges, when he found how backward the Queen was to dismiss him, he was so prudent as to make a greater advantage to himself by quitting his post than he could have done by holding it. And in the winter of 1706 Lord Sunderland was appointed to succeed him.

But notwithstanding this point thus carried by the Whigs, they were soon alarmed again by the Queen's choice of two High Church divines to fill two vacant bishoprics. Several of the Whigs were disposed to think themselves betrayed by the ministry; whereas the truth was that the Queen's inclination to the Tories being now soothed by the flatteries and insinuations of her private counsellors had begun to make it irksome to her to consult with her ministers upon any promotions, either in the Church or the State. The first artifice of those counsellors was to instil into the Queen notions of the high prerogative of acting without her ministers, and (as they expressed it) of being Queen indeed. And the nomination of persons to bishoprics against the judgment and remonstrances of her ministry being what they knew her genius would fall in with more readily than with anything else they could propose, they began with that; and they took care that those remonstrances should be interpreted by the world and resented by herself as

hard usage, a denial of common civility, and even the making her no Queen.

Her Majesty however, to quiet the dissatisfaction of the Whigs for the late promotions, ordered her ministers to assure them that she would prefer no more Tories, and she gave the same assurances with her own mouth in the Cabinet Council. And she was suffered by her secret counsellors so far to observe this promise as to give about the same time the bishopric of Norwich to Doctor Trimnel, a particular friend of Lord Sunderland's. And she also some time after gave the Professorship of Divinity at Oxford to Doctor Potter, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, who had Doctor Smalridge for his competitor, recommended by the Tories. But this latter favour to the Whigs was not so easily obtained as the former. And upon the delays that were made in bestowing it, my Lord Marlborough thought it proper to try what credit he had with a Queen, whose glory he had carried to a height beyond that of any of her predecessors. He wrote therefore a very moving letter to her, complaining of the visible loss of his interest with her, and particularly of her so long deferring the promotion she had promised of the person recommended by her ministry as a faithful friend to her government, adding that the only way to make her reign easy was to be true to that rule, which she had professed to lay down, of preferring none of those who appeared

against her service and the nation's interest, etc. He wrote at the same time to the same effect to me, and I wrote to the Queen, and at length by much solicitation this matter was obtained and Doctor Potter fixed in the Professorship.

But this was only yielding up one small point in order to conceal a much greater design and bring it to effect, when the season should be ripe for it. It was about this time that the ministry began to be assured of the secret practices of Mr Harley against them, and that I discovered the base returns made me by Mrs Masham, upon whom I had heaped the greatest obligations.

The story of this lady, as well as of that gentleman who was her great adviser and director, is worth the knowledge of posterity, as it will lead them into a sense of the instability of Court favour and of the incurable baseness which some minds are capable of contracting.

Mrs Masham was the daughter of one Hill, a merchant in the city, by a sister of my father. Our grandfather, Sir John Jenyns, had two and twenty children, by which means the estate of the family, which was reputed to be about £4000 a year, came to be divided into small parcels. Mrs Hill had only £500 to her portion. Her husband lived very well, as I have been told, for many years, till turning projector he brought ruin upon himself and his family. But as this was long before I was born, I never knew there were such people in the world, till after the

Princess Anne was married, and when she lived at the Cockpit ; at which time an acquaintance of mine came to me and said she believed I did not know that I had relations who were in want, and she gave me an account of them. When she had finished her story, I answered that indeed I had never heard before of any such relations, and immediately gave her out of my purse ten guineas for their present relief, saying I would do what I could for them. Afterwards I sent Mrs Hill more money and saw her. She told me that her husband was in the same relation to Mr Harley as she was to me, but that he had never done anything for her.

I think Mrs Masham's father and mother did not live long after this. They left four children, two sons and two daughters. The elder daughter (afterwards Mrs Masham) was a grown woman. I took her to St Albans, where she lived with me and my children, and I treated her with as great kindness as if she had been my sister. After some time a Bedchamber-woman of the Princess of Denmark's died ; and as in that reign (after the Princesses were grown up) Rockers, though not gentlewomen, had been advanced to be Bedchamber-women, I thought I might ask the Princess to give the vacant place to Mrs Hill. At first indeed I had some scruple about it, but this being removed by persons I thought wiser, with whom I consulted, I made the request to the Princess and it was granted.

ABIGAIL HILL, AFTERWARDS LADY MASHAM

National Portrait Gallery.

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As for the younger daughter (who is still living) I engaged my Lord Marlborough, when the Duke of Gloucester's family was settled, to make her laundress to him, which was a good provision for her. And when the Duke of Gloucester died, I obtained for her a pension of £200 a year, which I paid her out of the Privy Purse. And in some time after I asked the Queen's leave to buy her an annuity out of some of the funds, representing to her Majesty that as the Privy Purse money produced no interest, it would be the same thing to her, if instead of the pension to Mrs Hill she gave her at once a sum sufficient to purchase an annuity, and that by this means her Majesty would make a certain provision for one who had served the Duke of Gloucester. The Queen was pleased to allow the money for that purchase, and it is very probable that Mrs Hill has the annuity to this day, and perhaps nothing else, unless she saved money after her sister had made her Deputy to the Privy Purse, which she did as soon as she had supplanted me.

The elder son was at my request put by my Lord Godolphin into a place in the custom house ; and when, in order to his advancement to a better, it was necessary to give security for his good behaviour, I got a relation of the Duke of Marlborough's to be bound for him in two thousand pounds.

His brother (whom the bottle-men afterwards called " honest Jack Hill ") was a tall boy, whom I clothed (for he was all in rags) and put to school

at St Albans to one Mr James, who had been an usher under Dr Busby of Westminster. And whenever I went to St Albans I sent for him, and was as kind to him as if he had been my own child. After he had learnt what he could there, a vacancy happening of Page of Honour to the Prince of Denmark, his Highness was pleased at my request to take him. I afterwards got my Lord Marlborough to make him Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of Gloucester. And though my Lord always said that Jack Hill was good for nothing, yet to oblige me he made him his Aide-de-camp and afterwards gave him a Regiment. But it was his sister's interest that raised him to be a General and to command in that ever memorable expedition to Quebec; I had no share in doing him these honours. To finish what I have to say upon his subject:— when Mr Harley thought it useful to attack the Duke of Marlborough in Parliament, this Quebec General, this honest Jack Hill, this once ragged boy whom I clothed, happening to be sick in bed, was nevertheless persuaded by his sister to get up, wrap himself in warmer clothes than those I had given him and go to the House to vote against the Duke.

I may here add that even the husband of Mrs Masham had several obligations to me. It was at my instance that he was first made a Page, then a Querry, and afterwards Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince; for all which he himself

thanked me, as for favours procured by my means.

As for Mrs Masham herself, I had so much kindness for her and had done so much to oblige her, without having ever done anything to offend her, that it was too long before I could bring myself to think her other than a true friend or forbear rejoicing at any instance of favour shown her by the Queen. I observed indeed at length that she was grown more shy of coming to me and more reserved than usual when she was with me, but I imputed this to her peculiar moroseness of temper, and for some time made no other reflection upon it.

The first thing which led me into enquiries about her conduct was the being told, in the summer of 1707, that my cousin Hill was privately married to Mr Masham. I went to her and asked her if it were true. She owned it was and begged my pardon for having concealed it from me. As much reason as I had to take ill this reserve in her behaviour, I was willing to impute it to bashfulness and want of breeding rather than to anything worse. I embraced her with my usual tenderness and very heartily wished her joy ; and then, turning the discourse, entered into her concerns in as friendly a manner as possible, contriving how to accommodate her with lodgings by removing her sister into some of my own. I then enquired of her very kindly whether the Queen knew of her marriage, and

very innocently offered her my service, if she needed it, to make that matter easy. She had by this time learnt the art of dissimulation pretty well, and answered with an air of unconcernedness that the Bedchamber-women had already acquainted the Queen with it, hoping by this answer to divert any farther examination into the matter. But I went presently to the Queen and asked her why she had not been so kind as to tell me of my cousin's marriage, expostulating with her upon the point and putting her in mind of what she used often to say to me out of Montaigne, that it was no breach of promise of secrecy to tell such a friend anything, because it was no more than telling it to oneself. All the answer I could obtain from her Majesty was this, "I have a hundred times bid Masham tell it you, and she would not."

The conduct both of the Queen and of Mrs Masham convinced me that there was some mystery in the affair, and thereupon I set myself to enquire as particularly as I could into it. And in less than a week's time I discovered that my cousin was become an absolute favourite; that the Queen herself was present at her marriage in Dr Arbuthnot's lodgings, at which time her Majesty had called for a round sum out of the Privy Purse; that Mrs Masham came often to the Queen, when the Prince was asleep, and was generally two hours every day in private with her. And I likewise then discovered beyond all

dispute Mr Harley's correspondence and interest at Court by means of this woman.

I was struck with astonishment at such an instance of ingratitude and should not have believed, if there had been any room left for doubting.

My Lord Marlborough was at first no less incredulous than I, as appears by the following paragraph of a letter from him in answer to one from me on this subject :—

" Meldest, June 3, 1707.

" The wisest thing is to have to do with as few people as possible. If you are sure that Mrs Masham speaks of business to the Queen, I should think you might with some caution tell her of it, which would do good. For she certainly must be grateful and will mind what you say."

It became easy now to decipher many particulars which had hitherto remained mysterious, and my reflection quickly brought to my mind many passages, which had seemed odd and unaccountable but had left no impressions of suspicion or jealousy. Particularly I remembered that a long while before this, being with the Queen (to whom I had gone very privately by a secret passage from my lodgings to the Bedchamber), on a sudden this woman, not knowing I was there, came in with the boldest and gayest air possible, but upon sight of me stopped, and immediately, changing her manner and

making a most solemn curtsey, "Did your Majesty ring?" And then went out again. This singular behaviour needed no interpreter now to make it understood. But not to dwell on such trifling incidents, as soon as I had got a thorough insight into her management, being naturally frank and open, I wrote to her the following letter :—

"Sept. 23d, 1707.

"Since the conversation I had with you at your lodgings several things have happened to confirm me in what I was hard to believe, that you have made me returns very unsuitable to what I might have expected. I always speak my mind so plainly that I should have told you so myself, if I had had the opportunity which I hoped for. But being now so near parting, think this way of letting you know it is like to be the least uneasy to you as well as to

"Your humble servant,

"S. Marlborough."

Though I was to go to Woodstock the next day, I stayed at Windsor almost all the morning to wait her answer. But this could not be had so soon, it being necessary to consult with her great director in so nice a matter. At length however an answer was sent after me, the whole frame and style of which showed it to be the

genuine product of an artful man, who knew perfectly well the management of such an affair.

" Windsor, Sept. 24, 1707.

" While I was expecting a message from your Grace to wait upon you according to your commands last night, I received a letter which surprises me no less than it afflicts me, because it lays a most heavy charge upon me of an ungrateful behaviour to your Grace. Her Majesty was pleased to tell me that you was angry with me for not acquainting you with my marriage. I did believe after so generous a pardon your Grace would think no more of that. I am very confident by the expression of your letter that somebody has told some malicious lie of me to your Grace, from which it is impossible for me to vindicate myself till I know the crime I am accused of. I am sure, Madam, your goodness cannot deny me what the meanest may ask the greatest ; I mean justice, to know my accuser. Without that all friendship must be at the mercy of every malicious liar, as they are, who have so barbarously and unjustly brought me under your displeasure, the greatest unhappiness that could befall me. I therefore make it my most humble request to your Grace that if ever I had the least share of your friendship, you would be pleased to give me that parting token to let me know who this wicked person is, and then I do not doubt but I shall make it plain how much they have wronged

me as well as imposed upon your Grace. As my affliction is very great, you will I hope in compassion let me hear from you, and believe me what I really am,

" Madam,

" Your Grace's most humble and faithful servant,

" A. Hill."

As I believe nobody at this time doubts whether the writer of this letter was practising with the Queen to undermine me, I shall make no reflections upon it. My answer to it was in these terms :—

" I received your letter upon the road to this place, and I can assure you the occasion of my complaints did not proceed from any ill offices that had been done you to me by anybody, but from my own observation, which makes the impression much the stronger. But I think the subject is not very proper for a letter, and therefore I must defer it till we meet, and give you no farther trouble at this time from

" Your most humble servant,

" S. Marlborough."

About the same time that I made this discovery of Mrs Masham's intriguing, my Lord Godolphin, as I before mentioned, got notice of Mr Harley's

practices both within doors and without. He was endeavouring to create in the Whigs jealousies of Lord Godolphin and Lord Marlborough, and at the same time assuring the Tories that they might depend upon the Queen's inward affection to them, and that it was wholly owing to those two great Lords that the Tories were not still possessed of all the places and employments. His design was to ruin the Whigs by disuniting them from the ministry, and so to pave the way for the Tories to rise again ; whom he thought to unite in himself, as their head, after he had made it impossible for them to think of a reconciliation with the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin.

But that this able politician might in all things act suitably to his parts and genius, he at the same time that he was employed in the manner I have related, was endeavouring to blind the eyes of those whose destruction he aimed at by the most elaborate compliments and the most nauseous professions of affection and duty.

I am persuaded, my Lord, that as mean an opinion as you have of this gentleman, you will yet be surprised at his manner of writing to my Lord Marlborough and myself. I have picked out of the letters we had from him some choice pieces, which I think are real curiosities, and, when compared with his after-conduct, will serve excellently well towards forming a perfect idea of his character.

"MADAM,

"Though the advantage the public receives from this great and glorious victory of Schellenberg is enough to inspire every one's heart with joy, who loves either the Queen or the nation, yet I must profess I have a peculiar satisfaction; it enhances the blessing to me by the hand that wrought it. I should have had a share in common with the rest of the nation, if another had performed it. But when the Duke of Marlborough is the author; when our deliverance, I may call it, is owing to his courage and his conduct; when the English honour is not only retrieved but carried to so great a height, I cannot but receive an additional pleasure that it is done by my Lord Duke. I hope your Grace will forgive this overflowing of joy as an instance of the sincerity and duty wherewith I shall always endeavour to distinguish myself,

"Madam,

"Your Grace's most humble
"and most obedient servant,
"RO. HARLEY.

"July 3, 1704."

"May 17, 1706.

"MY LORD,

"Yesterday about seven in the evening Col. Richards brought the most acceptable news of the glorious success your Grace had obtained in

attacking the French Army; and at the same time we are rejoicing for the victory, we cannot (I mean every good Englishman) but be sensibly touched with the danger all was in by the hazard your Grace exposed your own person to. That deliverance enhances the value of the victory, considering how dear it had like to have cost us. Heaven itself hath preserved that precious life and would not suffer us to lose your Grace, who was born for the delivery of your own country and the rescue of so many others from tyranny and oppression. Your Grace does not only triumph over the public enemies by teaching us how to conquer abroad, but you deliver us from ourselves and rescue us from that tyranny which each party here would exercise upon one another. You have again disarmed malice, and though your glorious actions will increase envy, yet the lustre of what you have done will discover it and consequently render it impotent. May your Grace still go on prosperously, the best general to the best Queen, and engaged in the best cause. And may you live long to enjoy in peace the fruits of your innumerable hazards and toils.

"I am with the greatest duty and affection,

"My Lord,

"Your Grace's most humble
"and most obedient servant,

"Ro. Harley."

" May 24-June 4, 1706.

" My Lord,

" I cannot tell where this letter will find your Grace, the improvements you make of your glorious victory are so stupendous; you have united the characters of Scipio and Hannibal; your Grace knows how to conquer, and how to improve a victory to admiration. Among the letters which have fallen into my hands there is one to Mr D'Allegre hath this article, that the Elector of Bavaria had wrote to his brother the Elector of Cologne in these terms: 'Avec la plus belle armée et la plus florissante et animée j'ai été battu. Dieu l'a voulu.' I hear from one I sent to Calais that after the news of the victory and the declaring of Brussels the Mob of Calais were very troublesome in the town and had your Grace's name continually in their mouths. We are assured that an express was sent away May 25, N. St., to Mr Feuillade to offer the Duke of Savoy any terms whatever. I doubt not but their emissaries will be busy also in Holland again, but I wrote last post to Mr Buys to caution him upon that subject, how necessary it was to be very vigilant, etc.

" I am with the greatest duty and affection,

" My Lord,

" Your Grace's most humble

" and most obedient servant,

" Ro. Harley."

" May 28-June 8, 1706.

" My Lord,

" I received this morning the honour of your Grace's letter of June 3, and cannot but observe with the utmost pleasure and satisfaction the great and wonderful successes which attend every day your Grace's prudent and most valiant conduct. It is very true that victories have been obtained over potent and flourishing armies formerly. Your Grace gave us two years since a noble instance of that, but give me leave to say, this is not only obtaining a victory but wearing of it too ; this is improving your own actions and outdoing your own victories, for nothing but you, sir, can outdo my Lord Marlborough's former victories.

" Your proceedings are so swift that it is scarce possible with thought to keep pace with them ; therefore we can only here give directions at random, etc.

" I am with the greatest duty and affection,

" My Lord,

" Your Grace's most humble

" and most obedient servant,

" Ro. Harley."

" May 31-June 11, 1706.

" My Lord,

" What success this fortunate raising of the siege will have upon the minds of the Portuguese

I cannot tell; all sorts of people here are much exasperated against them; and Schonnenberg now writes to his masters that he suspects some of those ministers are in the interest of France; and I believe all of them hope for a civil war in Spain, of which they will make their markets. But the glorious things your Grace has done, puts an end to such little projects. Your Grace does all at once, and the influence of it will be as extensive as the grandeur of the action, etc.

"I am with the greatest duty and affection,

"My Lord,

"Your Grace's most humble

"and most obedient servant,

"Ro. Harley."

"Thursday, Aug. 8, 1706.

"Madam,

"I was just going to end this trouble, when I was honoured with your Grace's commands, which I shall apply myself to obey with all imaginable cheerfulness and diligence. I cannot think of a servant and a spy without the utmost abhorrence, and particularly when I find it levelled at your Grace's family, to whom we all owe so much. I have been often provoked to see so much public and private ingratitude exercised towards the Duke.

"I shall not omit anything which may tend towards a discovery of this villainy, and I will not

put it into anyone's hands, but manage that myself. I beg your Grace will do me the honour to believe me to be, with the utmost duty,

" Madam,

" Your Grace's most humble

" and most obedient servant,

" Ro. Harley."

Is it not amazing that a person who could thus extol the Duke of Marlborough's services to his country, speak of his glory as beyond the power of envy or malice to hurt it, and profess to feel such a peculiar joy in the contemplation of it ; is it not amazing, I say, that this very person should be at the same time contriving how to ruin that glorious man in order to raise himself upon his ruins ? The Duke was too backward to believe him capable of such designs, though it is certain he never had entertained the same good opinion of him as my Lord Godolphin had, and though, as one may collect from a paragraph in a letter of Mr Harley's, dated 25 March 1707, the Duke had been early warned of his practices. The paragraph contains these words :—

" I return your Grace most hearty and humble thanks for the favourable expressions in your letter. I beg leave to assure you that I serve you by inclination and principle, and a very little time will make that manifest, as well as that I have no views or aims of my own."

The conduct which Mr Harley observed after these assurances was so directly contrary to them, and became quickly so notorious, that my Lord Godolphin could not help representing it to the Queen as of the utmost prejudice to her affairs. And when he found that her Majesty would believe nothing of it, he went so far as to say that if Mr Harley continued to act the part he did, and yet to have so much credit with her, as he perceived he had, Lord Marlborough and himself must of necessity quit her service. The Queen appeared pretty much alarmed at this, and presently wrote a letter to me, in which were several expressions of great kindness.

" Kensington, Oct. the 30th.

" If I have not answered all my dear Mrs Freeman's letters (as indeed I should have done) I beg she would not impute it to anything but the apprehensions I was in of saying what might add to the ill impressions she has of me. For though I believe we are both of the same opinion in the main, I have the misfortune that I cannot agree exactly in everything, and therefore what I say is not thought to have the least colour of reason in it, which makes me really not care to enter into particulars ; but though I am unwilling to do it, it is impossible for me to help giving you some answer to your last letter, in which I find you think me insensible of everything. I am

very sorry you, who have known me so long, can give way to such a thought as that I do not think the parting with my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Treasurer of much consequence, because I did not mention anything of my Lord Marlborough's kind letter concerning me. The reason of that was I really was in a great hurry when I writ to you, and not having time to write on that subject to both, I thought it was the most necessary to endeavour to let him see he had no reason to have suspicions of anyone's having power with me, besides himself and my Lord Treasurer, and I hope they will believe me.

"Can dear Mrs Freeman think that I can be so stupid as not to be sensible of the great services that my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Treasurer have done me, nor of the great misfortune it would be if they should quit my service? No, sure, you cannot believe me to be so void of sense and gratitude. I never did nor never will give them any just reason to forsake me, and they have too much honour and too sincere a love for their country to leave me without a cause. And I beg you would not add that to my other misfortunes of pushing them on to such an unjust and unjustifiable action. I think I had best say no more for fear of being too troublesome. But whatever becomes of me, I shall always preserve a most sincere and tender passion for my dear Mrs Freeman to my last moment."

After my return to London I had another kind letter from her Majesty in the following terms :—

" Saturday night.

" My dear Mrs Freeman, I cannot go to bed without renewing a request that I have often made, that you would banish all unkind and unjust thoughts of your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley, which I saw by the glimpse I had of you yesterday you were full of. Indeed I do not deserve them, and if you could see my heart, you would find it as sincere, as tender and passionately fond of you as ever, and as truly sensible of your kindness in telling me your mind freely upon all occasions. Nothing shall ever alter me. Though we have the misfortune to differ in some things, I will ever be the same to my dear, dear Mrs Freeman, who I do assure once more I am more tenderly and sincerely hers than it is possible ever to express."

I was every day in expectation of hearing from Mrs Masham, who, I supposed, would now endeavour to clear up what had created so much uneasiness between us. But to my great surprise I was twelve days at St James's under the same roof with her before I had so much as any message from her. At length having one night passed by her window in my return home, she sent one of her maids to my woman to ask her how I did and to let me know that she was gone to Kensing-

ton. This behaviour was so very ridiculous that the next time I saw the Queen I could not forbear speaking of it and at the same time telling her all that had passed between us. The Queen looked grave and said she was mightily in the right not to come near me. I answered that I did not understand that, since she had expressed such a concern at my displeasure and since the clearing up of matters had been reserved to our meeting. The Queen replied that it was very natural for her to be afraid to come to me, when she saw I was angry with her. To this I answered that she could have no reason to be afraid, unless she knew herself guilty of some crime. It was the Queen's usual way on any occasion, where she was predetermined (and my Lord Marlborough has told me that it was her father's), to repeat over and over some principal words she had resolved to use and to stick firmly to them. She continued therefore to say it was very natural and she was very much in the right. So that this conversation with her Majesty produced nothing but an undeniable proof that the new favourite was deeply rooted in her heart and affections, and that it was thought more advisable to let the breach between me and Mrs Masham grow wider and wider than to use any method to make it up.

But now within two days Mrs Masham contrived to make me a visit when I was abroad. Upon observing this and considering that our meeting could be to no purpose but to draw

fruitless and false professions from her, I gave a general order to my servants to say, whenever she should call, that I was not at home. After some time, it was thought proper that she should write to me and desire I would see her ; to which I consented and appointed her a time. When she came, I began to tell her that it was very plain the Queen was much changed towards me, and that I could not attribute this to anything but her secret management ; that I knew she had been very frequently with her Majesty in private, and that the very attempt to conceal this by artifice from such a friend as I had been to her, was alone a very ill sign and enough to prove a very bad purpose at bottom. To this she very gravely answered that she was sure the Queen, who had loved me extremely, would always be very kind to me. It was some minutes before I could recover from the surprise with which so extraordinary an answer struck me. To see a woman, whom I had raised out of the dust, put on such a superior air, and to hear her assure me, by way of consolation, that the Queen would be always very kind to me ! At length I went on to reproach her with her ingratitude and her secret management with the Queen to undermine those who had so long and with so much honour served her Majesty. To this she answered that she never spoke to the Queen about business, but that she sometimes gave her petitions which came to the backstairs, and with which she knew I did not

care to be troubled. And with such insincere answers she thought to colour over the matter, while I knew for certain she had before this obtained pensions for several of her friends and had frequently paid to others, out of the Privy Purse, sums of money which the Queen had ordered me to bring her ; and that she was every day long with her Majesty in private.

But thus our conversation ended, and when we had sat awhile silent, she rose up and said she hoped I would give her leave to come sometimes and enquire after my health ; which however, it is plain she did not design to do, for she never once came near me after this. Notwithstanding which, when she owned her marriage publicly, I went with Lady Sunderland to visit her ; not that I intended to have any further intercourse with her, or to dissemble the ill opinion I had of her (as I had fully resolved to let her then know, in case I found an opportunity of speaking to her privately), but purely out of respect to the Queen, and to avoid any noise or disagreeable discourse, which my refusing that ordinary part of civility might occasion.

Not many days after this I went to pay my respects to the Queen in the Christmas holidays, and before I went in, I learnt from the page that Mrs Masham was just then sent for. The moment I saw her Majesty, I plainly perceived she was very uneasy. She stood all the while I was with her, and looked as coldly upon me as if her

intention was that I should no longer doubt of my loss of her affections. Upon observing what reception I had, I said I was very sorry I had happened to come so unseasonably. I was making my curtsey to go away, when the Queen, with a great deal of disorder in her face and without speaking one word, took me by the hand. And when thereupon I stooped to kiss hers, she took me up with a very cold embrace and then without one kind word let me go. So strange a treatment of me, after my long and faithful services and after such repeated assurances from her Majesty of an unalterable affection, made me think that I ought in justice to myself, as well as in regard to my mistress's interest, to write to her in the plainest and sincerest manner possible and expostulate with her upon her change to me and upon the new counsels by which she seemed to be wholly governed. My letter was in these terms :—

" December the 27th, 1707.

" If Mrs Morley will be so just as to reflect and examine impartially her last reception of Mrs Freeman, how very different from what it has been formerly, when you were glad to see her come in and sorry when she went away ; certainly you can't wonder at her reproaches, upon an embrace that seemed to have no satisfaction in it but that of getting rid of her in order to enjoy the conversation of one that has the good fortune

to please you much better, though I am sure nobody did ever endeavour it with more sincerity than Mrs Freeman has done. And if I had considered only my interest and that of my family, I might have borne this change without any complaint. For I believe Mrs Morley would be sincere in doing us any good. But I have once been honoured with an open, kind confidence and trust, and that made all my service agreeable ; and it is not possible to lose it without a mortification too great to be passed with silence, being sure I have never done anything to forfeit it, having never betrayed nor abused that confidence by giving you a false representation of anybody. My temper is naturally plain and sincere, and Mrs Morley did like it for many years. It is not in the least altered. But I can't help thinking those things reasonable that appear to be so. And I appeal to God Almighty that I never designed or pursued anything but as I was thoroughly convinced it was for Mrs Morley's true interest and honour. And I think I may safely put it to that trial, if anything has yet proved unsuccessful, that was of any public consequence, that Mrs Freeman has been earnest to persuade Mrs Morley to. And it is not possible for me to dissemble so as to appear what I am not.

" So much by way of apology for what happened upon Wednesday last. And if Mrs Morley has any remains of the tenderness she once pro-

fessed for her faithful Freeman, I would beg she might be treated one of these two ways, either with the openness and confidence of a friend, as she was for twenty years (for to pretend kindness without trust and openness of heart is a treatment for children, not friends), or else in that manner that is necessary for the post she is in, which unavoidably forces her to be often troubling Mrs Morley upon the account of others. And if she pleases to choose which of these ways or any other she likes to have Mrs Freeman live in, she promises to follow any rule that is laid down that is possible, and is resolved to her life's end and upon all occasions to show that Mrs Morley never had a more faithful servant."

My Lord Marlborough or my Lord Godolphin (I have forgot which) carried my letter. The Queen took no notice of it to either of these Lords. But some days after she wrote me an answer, in which she very much softened what had passed. I was much pleased to find her Majesty in that disposition, and once more put on as easy an appearance as I could.

But in a very short time after this the great breach at Court became public. Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin had often told the Queen in the most respectful manner that it was impossible for them to do her any service, while Mr Harley was in her confidence. Her Majesty nevertheless seemed determined not to part with

him, till at length those two Lords, being urged by necessity to it, declared their resolution to serve no longer with him, and they absented themselves from the Council. Mr Harley would have proceeded to business without them when the Council met, but the Duke of Somerset said he did not see how it could be to any purpose, when neither the General nor the Treasurer was present ; whereupon the Council immediately broke up. This had such an effect upon the Queen that very soon after Mr Harley was dismissed from his post.

Such a compliance with the ministers seemed to the eyes of the world a very great concession but was in truth nothing. For it was evident by what followed that this appearance of giving up Mr Harley was with his own consent and by his own advice, who, as long as Mrs Masham continued in favour, would under pretence of visiting her (who was his cousin) have all the opportunities he could wish for of practising upon the passions and credulity of the Queen ; and the method of corresponding with him had been settled some time before. I was fully apprised of all this, yet I resolved to try if by being easy and quiet I could regain any influence with her Majesty. She had given me some encouragement to hope it. For when, a little before Mr Harley's dismission, Lord Marlborough resolved to quit the service, and when on that occasion I had with tears (which a tender concern at the thought of parting

from her Majesty made me shed) represented to her that if the Duke retired, it would be improper and even impossible for me to stay at Court after him, she declared that she could not bear the thought of my leaving her and that it must never be. And at that time she made me a promise that if ever I should leave her (which she again said must never be), she would bestow my offices among my children.

Nay, the Whigs had some reason to flatter themselves about this time that her Majesty would become better disposed to them than she had hitherto been.

The Pretender's attempt to land in Scotland, which happened about this time, gave her an alarm that seemed to bring a conviction along with it that the Whigs were the most to be depended upon for the support of her government; at least what she said in her answer to the Lords' Address upon the occasion had this appearance. But as the danger presently blew over and as her fears ceased with the cause of them, so all the hope, which the Whigs had raised in themselves from those fears, presently vanished.

However by the manner in which her Majesty wrote to the Duke of Marlborough in a letter, dated May 6, 1708, she seems still to have retained a great degree of regard for him. After complaining to him of being so tired that day with importunities from Whigs that she had not spirits left to open her afflicted heart so freely

and fully as she intended, she goes on to say she is entirely of his opinion, thinking it neither for her honour nor interest to make steps (meaning the first steps) towards a peace, as the Duke had been pressed to do abroad ; and assures him that whatever insinuations her enemies might make to the contrary, she would never give her consent to a peace but upon safe and honourable terms. She begs the Duke to be so just to her as not to let the misrepresentations made of her have any weight with him ; adding that it would be a greater trouble to her than could be expressed, and concludes with these words :—" I cannot end without begging you to be very careful of yourself, there being nobody I am sure that prays more heartily than her, who will live and die most sincerely yours, etc."

The campaign of 1708 proved very glorious to the Duke of Marlborough by the victory at Oudenarde, the taking of Lille and the saving of Brussels.

Her Majesty on occasion of the victory wrote the following letter to him :—

" Windsor, July the 6th, 1708.

" I want words to express the joy I have that you are well after your glorious success, for which, next to God Almighty, my thanks are due to you. And indeed I can never say enough for all the great and faithful services you have ever done me.

But be so just as to believe I am as truly sensible of them as a grateful heart can be and shall be ready to show it upon all occasions. I hope you cannot doubt of my esteem and friendship for you, nor think that because I differ with you in some things, it is for want of either. No, I do assure you. If you were here, I am sure you would not think me so much in the wrong in some things as I fear you do now. I am afraid my letter should come too late to London, and therefore dare say no more but that I pray God Almighty to continue his protection over you and send you safe home again. And be assured I shall ever be sincerely

"Your humble servant."

To this the Duke answered :—

"July 23, 1708.

"MADAM,

"I have the honour of your Majesty's letter of the 6th and am very thankful for all your goodness to me. And I am sure it will always be my intention as well as duty to be ready to venture my life for your service.

"As I have formerly told your Majesty that I am desirous to serve you in the army but not as a minister, I am every day more and more confirmed in that opinion. And I think myself obliged upon all accounts on this occasion to speak my mind freely to you. The circumstances

in this last battle, I think, show the hand of God ; for we were obliged not only to march five leagues that morning, but to pass a river before the enemy and to engage them before the whole army was passed, which was a visible mark of the favour of Heaven to you and your arms.

" Your Majesty shall be convinced from this time that I have no ambition or anything to ask for myself or family. But I will end the few years which I have to live in endeavouring to serve you and to give God Almighty thanks for his infinite goodness to me. But as I have taken this resolution to myself, give me leave to say that I think you are obliged, in conscience and as a good Christian, to forgive and to have no more resentments to any particular person or party but to make use of such as will carry on this just war with vigour ; which is the only way to preserve our religion and liberties and the Crown on your head. Which that you may long enjoy and be a blessing to your people shall be the constant wish and prayer of him, that is with the greatest truth and duty,

" Madam, etc."

But now, what was very strange, the successes of my Lord Marlborough this year seemed rather to lower his credit with her Majesty than to raise it ; a thing so extremely out of the common course of nature that no one, I think, can doubt of its being the pure effect of art, the product of

that wonderful talent Mr Harley possessed in the supreme degree of confounding the common sense of mankind.

The Duke was perfectly sensible of the change in her Majesty towards him, and having complained of it in a letter to me, I sent this letter to her, enclosed in the following one from myself :—

"I cannot help sending your Majesty this letter, to show how exactly Lord Marlborough agrees with me in my opinion that he has now no interest with you, though when I said so in the church on Thursday,[1] you were pleased to say it was untrue. And yet I think he will be surprised to hear that when I had taken so much pains to put your jewels in a way that I thought you would like, Mrs Masham could make you refuse to wear them in so unkind a manner, because that was a power she had not thought fit to exercise before. I will make no reflections upon it ; only that I must needs observe that your Majesty chose a very wrong day to mortify me, when you were just going to return thanks for a victory obtained by Lord Marlborough."

In answer to this her Majesty was pleased to write to me these few words :—

"Sunday.

"After the commands you gave me on the Thanksgiving day of not answering you, I should

[1] 19th August 1708.

not have troubled you with these lines but to return the Duke of Marlborough's letter safe into your hands, and for the same reason do not say anything to that nor to yours which enclosed it."

Upon receiving so extraordinary a letter, I could not avoid writing again as follows :—

" I should not trouble your Majesty with any answer to your last short letter but to explain what you seem to mistake in what I said at church. I desired you not to answer me there for fear of being overheard. And this you interpret as if I had desired you not to answer me at all, which was far from my intention. For the whole end of my writing to you so often was to get your answer to several things in which we differed, that if I was in the wrong, you might convince me of it, and I should very readily have owned my mistakes. But since you have not been pleased to show them to me, I flatter myself that I have said several things to you that are unanswerable. And I hope some time or other you will find leisure to reflect upon them, and will convince Lord Marlborough that he is mistaken in thinking that he has no credit with you by hearkening sometimes to his advice ; and then I hope you will never more be troubled with disagreeable letters from me. For I should be much better pleased to say and do everything you like. But I should think myself wanting in my duty to you, if I saw you so much in the

wrong, as without prejudice or passion I really think you are in several particulars I have mentioned, and did not tell you of it. And the rather because nobody else cares to speak out upon so ungrateful a subject. The word command, which you use at the beginning of your letter, is very unfitly supposed to come from me. For though I have always writ to you as a friend and lived with you as such for so many years with all the truth and honesty and zeal for your service that was possible, yet I shall never forget that I am your subject nor cease to be a faithful one."

Through the whole summer after Mr Harley's dismission the Queen continued to have secret correspondence with him. And that this might be the better managed, she stayed all the sultry season, even when the Prince was panting for breath, in that small house she had formerly purchased at Windsor, which, though as hot as an oven, was then said to be cool, because from the Park such persons as Mrs Masham had a mind to bring to her Majesty could be let in privately by the garden.

And when upon the death of the Prince one would have thought that her Majesty's real grief would have made her avoid every place and every object that might sensibly revive the remembrance of her loss, she chose for her place of retirement his closet, and for some weeks spent

many hours in it every day. I was amazed at this ; and when I spoke to her of it, she seemed surprised, just like a person who on a sudden becomes sensible of her having done something she would not have done had she duly considered. But the true reason of her Majesty's choosing this closet to sit in was that the backstairs belonging to it came from Mrs Masham's lodgings, who by that means could secretly bring to her whom she pleased.

And that a correspondence was thus carried on with Mr Harley became every day more and more manifest by the difficulties and objections which her Majesty had learnt to raise against almost everything proposed by her ministers. Nay, it is well known that Mr Harley and his associates, when at length they had compassed their designs and got into the management of affairs, did often (both in their cups and out of them) boast that they, while the Queen's ministers were asleep, were frequently at Court giving advice in secret how to perplex them in all their measures.

But they were much mistaken, if they imagined that their proceedings at the time I am speaking of were so entirely covered. The ministers were fully convinced of the truth, and frequently represented to her Majesty, what a discouragement it was to them in their endeavours for her service to find that she had no confidence in them, but was influenced by the counsel of others who

counter-worked them in every instance. Upon this subject I myself wrote and spoke a great deal to her with my usual plainness and zeal. But finding not only that I could make no impression on her in this respect, but that her change towards me in particular was every day more and more apparent, I at length went to her and begged to know what my crime was, that had wrought in her so great an alteration. This drew from the Queen a letter, dated October 26, 1709, wherein she charges me with inveteracy (as her word is) against poor Masham and with having nothing so much at heart as the ruin of my cousin. In speaking of the misunderstandings betwixt her Majesty and me, she says they are for nothing that she knows of, but because she cannot see with my eyes and hear with my ears. And adds that it is impossible for me to recover her former kindness, but that she shall behave herself to me as the Duke of Marlborough's wife and her Groom of the Stole. This declaration so plain and express of her Majesty's thorough change towards me was the more extraordinary as in this same letter are these words:—"You have asked me once or twice if you had committed any fault that I was so changed, and I told you No, because I do not think it a crime in anyone not to be of my mind."

Upon receipt of this letter I immediately set myself to draw up a long narrative of a series of faithful services for about twenty-six years past;

of the great sense the Queen formerly had of my services ; of the great favour I had been honoured with on account of them ; of the use I had made of that favour ; and of my losing it now by the artifice of my enemies, and particularly of one whom I had raised out of the dust. And knowing how great a respect her Majesty had for the writings of certain eminent divines, I added to my narrative the directions given by the author of " The Whole Duty of Man " with relation to friendship ; the directions in the Common Prayer Book before the Communion with regard to reconciliation ; together with the rules laid down by Bishop Taylor upon the same head ; and I concluded with giving my word to her Majesty that if after reading these she would please only to answer in two words that she was still of the same opinion as when she wrote that harsh letter, which occasioned her this trouble, I would never more give her the least trouble upon any subject but the business of my office, as long as I should have the honour to continue her servant ; assuring her, that however she might be changed towards me, and how much soever we might still differ in opinion, I should ever remember that she was my mistress and my Queen, and should always pay her the respect due from a faithful servant and dutiful subject.

I sent from St Albans this narrative, which she promised to read and answer. And ten days after, writing to me upon another occasion, she said she

had not leisure yet to read all my papers, but when she had, she would send me some answer. But none ever came ; nor had my papers any apparent effect on her Majesty, except that after my coming to town, as she was passing by me in order to receive the Communion, she looked with much good-nature and very graciously smiled upon me. But the smile and pleasant look I had reason afterwards to think were given to Bishop Taylor and the Common Prayer Book and not to me.

In the beginning of January 1709-10 the Earl of Essex died, and the Queen presently wrote to the Duke of Marlborough to give his regiment to Mr Hill, a man who had been basely ungrateful to me who raised him, and whose sister, Mrs Masham, the Duke well knew was at this time undermining the interest of himself, his family and friends.

The scheme of the Queen's new counsellors, to make her ministers quit her service or engage her to discard them, began now to appear without disguise. They durst not tell her Majesty at once all they designed, but proposing to her only one thing at a time, led her by insensible degrees to the accomplishment of the whole. They began, as I before observed, with engaging her to nominate persons to bishoprics without consulting her ministers. And now they prevailed with her to appoint military officers without advising with her General. And nothing could

be more to their purpose than this choice of Mr Hill for Lord Essex's regiment, because they knew that nothing could be more disagreeable to the Duke of Marlborough, or would tend more to lessen his weight and authority in the army and consequently at home too. The new counsellors saw that if the Duke readily yielded in this matter, it would sow discontent among the officers, and that a door would be opened for his enemies to come into the army and insult him. And on the other hand, if the Duke should not comply or should show any reluctance in complying, this would furnish an excellent pretence for grievous complaints and outcries that the Queen was but a cipher and could do nothing. It was indeed by representing her to herself as a slave to the Marlborough family that they worked upon her passions, while at the same time, as is too evident, they meant to make her in reality their slave, to do for them those drudgeries that would dishonour her, instead of following the counsels of ministers whose fidelity she had experienced and who had carried her glory to the highest pitch.

Upon this message from the Queen the Duke waited upon her, and with all humility represented to her what a prejudice it would be to her service to have so young an officer preferred before so many others of higher rank and longer service. Besides that the showing so extraordinary and partial favour to Mrs Masham's brother could be

interpreted no otherwise than as a declaring against all those who had so much reason to be uneasy with her ; and that indeed it would be setting up a banner for all the discontented persons in the army to repair to. In short, the Duke said everything he could think of, and with all the moving concern that the nature of the affair created in him, to engage her Majesty to change her resolution. But all seemed to no purpose. He could not draw one kind expression from her, nor obtain any answer but that he would do well to advise with his friends.

Lord Godolphin spoke often to her upon the same subject, representing to her the Duke's long, great and faithful services and the very bad influence which her intended favour to Mr Hill must necessarily have in the army. But neither had this so much effect as to engage her to say one favourable word about the Duke. On the 15th of January therefore he left the town and went to Windsor in great discontent. It was Council day. The Queen did not ask where he was nor take the least notice of his absence. His withdrawing himself made a great noise in the town. Many of the nobility spoke with earnestness to the Queen of the very ill consequences of mortifying a man who had done her so long and important services. Her Majesty answered that his services were still fresh in her memory, and that she had as much kindness for him as ever she had. The noise however still continued and in-

creased, and there was great discourse, not without probability, that some notice would be taken of the matter in the House of Commons and some votes passed disagreeable to her Majesty and her new counsellors. This design was laid to my charge, but I said enough to the Queen to vindicate myself from it. And it was indeed owing to the Duke's particular friends in the House that no such notice was taken.

The new counsellors being alarmed with apprehensions of what the Parliament might do, and believing that they should be able at a proper season to make better use of the Queen's yielding up the point than of her insisting upon it, gave her advice accordingly. So that January the 20th she ordered Lord Godolphin to write to the Duke that he might dispose of the regiment as he himself thought fit, and to desire him to come to town. But before this reached Lord Marlborough, he had written the following letter to the Queen:—

"MADAM,

"By what I hear from London I find your Majesty is pleased to think that when I have reflected, I must be of opinion that you are in the right in giving Mr Hill the Earl of Essex's regiment. I beg your Majesty will be so just to me as not to think I can be so unreasonable as to be mortified to the degree that I am, if it proceeded only from this one thing; for I shall always be ready and glad to do everything that is

agreeable to you, after I have represented what may be a prejudice to your service. But this is only one of a great many mortifications that I have met with. And as I may not have many opportunities of writing to you, let me beg of your Majesty to reflect what your own people and the rest of the world must think, who have been witnesses of the love, zeal and duty with which I have served you, when they shall see that after all I have done it has not been able to protect me against the malice of a Bedchamber-woman. Your Majesty will allow me on this occasion to remind you of what I writ to you the last campaign, of the certain knowledge I had of Mrs Masham's having assured Mr Harley that I should receive such constant mortifications as should make it impossible for me to continue in your service. God Almighty and the whole world are my witnesses with what care and pains I have served you for more than twenty years, and I was resolved, if possible, to have struggled with the difficulties to the end of this war. But the many instances I have had of your Majesty's great change to me has so broke my spirits, that I must beg as the greatest and last favour that you will approve of my retiring, so that I may employ the little time I have to live in making my just acknowledgments to God for the protection he has been pleased to give me. And your Majesty may be assured that my zeal for you and my country is so great that in my retirement I shall

daily pray for your prosperity, and that those who shall serve you as faithfully as I have done, may never feel the hard return that I have met with."

The Queen wrote him an answer, expressing some concern at several parts of his letter, assuring him without entering into particulars that he had no ground for suspicions, and desiring him to come to town.

But fearing at the same time that some motion might be made in Parliament against Mrs Masham, which might be attended with very disagreeable consequences, she sent about in much concern to many persons to stand by her, as if some great attack were going to be made upon her. This application and the closeting some persons, who were known enemies to the Revolution, gave encouragement to the Jacobites ; several of whom were now observed running to Court with faces full of business and satisfaction, as if they were going to get the government into their hands. And this being represented to the Queen as a kind of victory gained by her over the Marlborough family was doubtless one means of hindering all thoughts of a real accommodation.

In about a month after this both Houses of Parliament addressed the Queen to order the Duke of Marlborough over into Holland, to attend to the great affair of a peace (towards which there were then some overtures), and in case that project did not take effect, to prepare for an early opening the campaign.

The Queen in her answer to that address used these words :—"I am very glad to find by this address that you concur with me in a just sense of the Duke of Marlborough's eminent services."

But notwithstanding this, he had not been long gone before her Majesty gave a signal proof how much his declared enemies were in her favour, by granting Mr Hill a pension of £1000 a year. And in some time, she made both him and Mr Masham (men of little or no service) general officers, over the heads of many brave men who had frequently hazarded their lives in her service and had gone through the toils and hardships of a tedious war.

In the meantime, as to myself, I learnt that the Queen was made to believe that I often spoke of her in company disrespectfully. As I knew myself wholly free from the guilt of this charge and indeed incapable of it, I waited on her Majesty the 3rd of April 1710 and begged of her that she would be pleased to give me a private hour, because I had something which I was very desirous of saying to her Majesty before I went out of town. I named three several hours, in which I knew the Queen used to be alone, but she refused them all in a very unusual and surprising manner. And at last she herself appointed six o'clock the next day, the hour for prayers, when she could least of all expect to be at leisure for any particular conversation. But even this small favour, though

promised, was not thought advisable to be granted by her new counsellors. For that night she wrote a letter to me, in which she desired me to lay before her in writing whatever I had to say, and to gratify myself in going into the country as soon as I could. I took the first opportunity of waiting upon the Queen again, and used all the arguments I could to obtain a private hour; alleging that when her Majesty should hear what I had to say, she would herself perceive it impossible to put things of that nature into writing; that I was now going out of town for a great while, and perhaps should never have occasion to give her a like trouble as long as I lived. The Queen refused it several times in a manner hard to be described, but at last appointed the next day after dinner. Yet upon farther consideration it was thought advisable to break this appointment; for the next morning she wrote to me to let me know that she should dine at Kensington, and that she once more desired me to put my thoughts into writing.

To this I wrote an answer, begging that her Majesty would give me leave to follow her to Kensington; and, that she might not apprehend a greater trouble than she would receive, I assured her Majesty that what I had to say would not create any dispute or uneasiness (it relating only to the clearing myself from some things which, I had heard, had very wrongfully been laid to my charge), and could have no con-

sequence, either in obliging her Majesty to answer or to see me oftener than would be easy to her : adding that if that afternoon were not convenient, I would come every day and wait till her Majesty would please to allow me to speak to her. Upon the sixth of April I followed this letter to Kensington, and by that means prevented the Queen's writing again to me, as she was preparing to do. The page, who went in to acquaint the Queen that I was come to wait upon her, stayed longer than usual ; long enough, it is to be supposed, to give time to deliberate whether the favour of admission should be granted, and to settle the measures of behaviour if I were admitted. But at last he came out and told me I might go in. As I was entering, the Queen said she was just going to write to me. And, when I began to speak, she interrupted me four or five times with these repeated words :— "Whatever you have to say, you may put it in writing." I said her Majesty never did so hard a thing to any as to refuse to hear them speak, and assured her that I was not going to trouble her upon the subject which I knew to be so ungrateful to her, but that I could not possibly rest, till I had cleared myself from some particular calumnies with which I had been loaded. I then went on to speak (though the Queen turned away her face from me) and to represent my hard case ; that there were those about her Majesty who had made her believe that I had said things of her, which I was no more capable of saying than of

killing my own children ; that I seldom named her Majesty in company, and never without respect, and the like. The Queen said, without doubt there were many lies told. I then begged, in order to make this trouble the shorter and my own innocence the plainer, that I might know the particulars of which I had been accused. Because if I were guilty, that would quickly appear ; and if I were innocent, this method only would clear me. The Queen replied that she would give me no answer, laying hold on a word in my letter, that what I had to say in my own vindication would have no consequence in obliging her Majesty to answer, etc., which surely did not at all imply that I did not desire to know the particular things laid to my charge, without which it was impossible for me to clear myself. This I assured her Majesty was all I desired, and that I did not ask the names of the authors or relators of those calumnies, saying all that I could think reasonable to enforce my just request. But the Queen repeated again and again the words she had used without ever receding. And it is probable that this conversation had never been consented to, but that her Majesty had been carefully provided with those words, as a shield to defend her against every reason I could offer. I protested to her Majesty that I had no design, in giving her this trouble, to solicit the return of her favour, but that my sole view was to clear myself ; which was too just a design to be wholly disappointed

by her Majesty. Upon this the Queen offered to go out of the room, I following her and begging leave to clear myself, and the Queen repeating over and over again :—" You desired no answer, and shall have none." When she came to the door, I fell into great disorder ; streams of tears flowed down against my will and prevented my speaking for some time. At length I recovered myself and appealed to the Queen, in the vehemence of my concern, whether I might not still have been happy in her Majesty's favour, if I could have contradicted or dissembled my real opinion of men or things ? Whether I had ever, during our long friendship, told her one lie or played the hypocrite once ? Whether I had offended in anything, unless in a very zealous pressing upon her that which I thought necessary for her service and security ? I then said I was informed by a very reasonable and credible person about the Court that things were laid to my charge of which I was wholly incapable ; that this person knew that such stories were perpetually told to her Majesty to incense her, and had begged of me to come and vindicate myself ; that the same person had thought me of late guilty of some omissions towards her Majesty, being entirely ignorant how uneasy to her my frequent attendance must be after what had happened between us. I explained some things which I had heard her Majesty had taken amiss of me, and then with a fresh flood of tears, and a

concern sufficient to move compassion even where all love was absent, I begged to know what other particulars she had heard of me, that I might not be denied all power of justifying myself. But still the only return was :—" You desired no answer, and you shall have none." I then begged to know if her Majesty would tell me some other time. " You desired no answer, and you shall have none." I then appealed to her Majesty again, if she did not herself know that I had often despised interest in comparison of serving her faithfully and doing right ? And whether she did not know me to be of a temper incapable of disowning anything which I knew to be true ? " You desired no answer, and you shall have none." This usage was so severe, and these words so often repeated were so shocking (being an utter denial of common justice to one who had been a most faithful servant and now asked nothing more), that I could not conquer myself, but said the most disrespectful thing I ever spoke to the Queen in my life, and yet what such an occasion and such circumstances might well excuse, if not justify. And that was that I was confident her Majesty would suffer for such an instance of inhumanity. The Queen answered :— " That will be to myself." Thus ended this remarkable conversation, the last I ever had with her Majesty. I shall make no comment upon it. The Queen always meant well, how much soever she might be blinded or misguided. But in a

letter which I had from the Duke of Marlborough about eight months before, there is something so pertinent to the present occasion, that I cannot forbear transcribing the passage.

"Aug. 26, 1709.

"It has always been my observation in disputes, especially in that of kindness and friendship, that all reproaches, though ever so just, serve to no end but making the breach wider. I cannot help being of opinion that however insignificant we may be, there is a power above that puts a period to our happiness or unhappiness. If anybody had told me eight years ago, that after such great success, and after you had been a faithful servant twenty-seven years, that even in the Queen's lifetime, we should be obliged to seek happiness in a retired life, I could not have believed that possible."

I never saw the Queen after the interview I have been speaking of, nor ever had any correspondence with her, except on two occasions relating to the public, one of which I shall now mention, because it was the very next day after our parting. I received a letter from Lord Marlborough, with one enclosed to Lord Godolphin, who was then at Newmarket, and whose letters, at such times and when dispatch was required, I had the privilege to open. In this letter the Duke gave Lord Godolphin an account of a

man then coming to England, who, as Prince Eugene informed him, had been guilty of many vile practices at Vienna and was a very great villain, desiring that he might not be admitted to see the Queen but be immediately sent out of England. Hereupon I wrote a letter to her Majesty, in which, after saying that I thought it my duty to impart to her without delay what so nearly concerned her, I added that I could not forbear taking notice of the usage I had met with the day before, when I waited upon her; and when my only business was to beg to be heard on a point that touched me very sensibly, in order to clear myself from what had been laid to my charge, if I were innocent; or to beg pardon, if in anything I had done amiss.

All the answer I received to this letter was in these few words, dated from Kensington :—

" I received yours, with one enclosed from the D. of M. to Lord Treasurer, just as I was coming downstairs from St James's, so could not return the enclosed back till I came to this place."

But notwithstanding this thorough alienation of the Queen's affections from me, I was not yet divested of my employments. Perhaps it was not yet determined who should succeed me, nor whether it were proper that Lord Marlborough should have that mortification before the season was fully ripe for the execution of the new scheme. Matters had been greatly advanced towards

maturity by the business of Sacheverell, which had engaged the attention of the nation for the greater part of the last winter. Everybody knows that whole story, and the terrible cry that was raised about the danger of the Church from the attempt that was made in a parliamentary way to punish an ignorant, impudent incendiary, a man who was the scorn even of those who made use of him as a tool. I shall only observe that the Duke of Shrewsbury, who had voted for the acquittal of that scurrilous declaimer against the Queen's ministers, was in about three weeks after appointed Lord Chamberlain by her Majesty.

When the Queen had resolved to make this step, she thought fit to write to my Lord Godolphin, then at Newmarket, to acquaint him with her resolution, and that she hoped she should have his approbation in this and all her actions. The answer which he returned to her Majesty is so great a proof of his honest heart and clear understanding, and of the injustice of those Whigs who did not scruple to call in question his zeal and even his sincerity in their cause, that I think it is but discharging a debt I owe to his memory to give a copy of his letter :—

" Newmarket, April 15, 1710.

" I have the honour of your Majesty's letter of the 13th, by which I have the grief to find that what you are pleased to call spleen in my former letter, was only a true impulse and conviction of mind,

that your Majesty is suffering yourself to be guided to your own ruin and destruction, as fast as it is possible for them to compass it, to whom you seem so much to hearken.

" I am not therefore so much surprised as concerned at the resolution, which your Majesty says you have taken, of bringing in the Duke of Shrewsbury. For when people began to be sensible it would be difficult to persuade your Majesty to dissolve a Parliament, which for two winters together had given you above six millions a year for the support of a war upon which your Crown depends ; even while that war is still subsisting, they have had the cunning to contrive this proposal to your Majesty, which in its consequence will certainly put you under a necessity of breaking the Parliament, though contrary, I yet believe, to your mind and intention.

" I beg your Majesty to be persuaded I do not say this out of the least prejudice to the Duke of Shrewsbury. There is no man of whose capacity I have had a better impression, nor with whom I have lived more easily and freely for above twenty years. Your Majesty may please to remember that at your first coming to the Crown I was desirous he should have had one of the chief posts in your service ; and it would have been happy for your Majesty and the kingdom, if he had accepted that offer. But he thought fit to decline it, and the reasons generally given at that time for his doing so do not much recommend him to

your Majesty's service. But I must endeavour to let your Majesty see things as they really are. And to bring him into your service and into your business at this time, just after his being in a public open conjunction in every vote with the whole body of the Tories, and in a private, constant correspondence and caballing with Mr Harley in everything, what consequence can this possibly have, but to make every man that is now in your Cabinet Council, except to run from it as they would from the plague? And I leave it to your Majesty to judge what effect this entire change of your ministers will have among your allies abroad; and how well this war is like to be carried on in their opinion by those who have all along opposed and obstructed it, and who will like any peace the better, the more it leaves France at liberty, to take their time of imposing the Pretender upon this country.

"These considerations must certainly make Holland run immediately into a separate peace with France, and make your Majesty lose all the honour and all the reputation your arms had acquired by the war; and make the kingdom lose all the fruits of that vast expense which they have been at in this war, as well as all the advantage and safety which they had so much need of and had so fair a prospect of obtaining by it. And can anybody imagine that after so great a disappointment to the kingdom, there will not be an enquiry into the causes of it, and who have

been the occasion of so great a change in your Majesty's measures and counsels, which had been so long successful and gotten you so great a name in the world? I am very much afraid your Majesty will find when it is too late, that it will be a pretty difficult task for anybody to stand against such an enquiry. I am sure if I did not think all these consequences inevitable, I would never give your Majesty the trouble and uneasiness of laying them before you. But persuaded as I am that your Majesty will find them so, it is my indispensable duty to do it out of pure faithfulness and zeal for your Majesty's service and honour. Your Majesty's having taken a resolution of so much consequence to all your affairs both at home and abroad, without acquainting the Duke of Marlborough or me with it till after you had taken it, is the least part of my mortification in this whole affair. Though perhaps the world may think the long and faithful services we have constantly and zealously endeavoured to do your Majesty might have deserved a little more consideration. However for my own part I most humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, I will never give the least obstruction to your measures or to any ministers you shall please to employ. And I must beg further to make two humble requests to your Majesty. The one, that you will allow me to pass the remainder of my life always out of London where I may find most ease and quiet.

The other, that you would keep this letter and read it again about next Christmas and then be pleased to make your own judgment, who hath given you the best and most faithful advice,

"I am, etc."

I think it is pretty plain from the Queen's letter, to which what I have just now given was an answer, that her new counsellors did not open their whole scheme to her at once. For if they had, they certainly could never have engaged her to tell my Lord Godolphin that she hoped he would approve of all her actions. But they judged wisely that, passing on under their direction from one step to another, she would quickly come to a desperate necessity of going as far as they themselves wished.

About the beginning of June the design of turning out Lord Sunderland began to be talked of. Lord Marlborough was now abroad at the head of the army.

As soon as the news of this design reached him, he wrote a very moving letter to the Queen, representing the very ill consequences it would necessarily have upon all affairs abroad to have his son-in-law, against whose fidelity nothing could be objected and in whom the allies had so entire a confidence, turned out of her service in the middle of a campaign; and begging it as a reward of all his past services that she would at least delay her resolution till the campaign was

ended. I was likewise urged by some friends to try to say something to divert if possible such a stroke ; because it was given out that the Queen would do this chiefly on my account, that I might feel the effects of her displeasure in so sensible and tender a point. No consideration proper to myself could have induced me to trouble the Queen again after our last conversation. But I was overcome by the consideration of Lord Marlborough, Lord Sunderland and the public interest, and wrote in the best manner I could to the Queen, June 7, 1710, begging for Lord Marlborough's sake that she would not give him such a blow, of which I dreaded the consequence ; putting her in mind of her letter about the Duke upon the victory at Blenheim ; and adding the most solemn assurances that I had not so much as a wish to remove Mrs Masham, and that all the noise which had been about an address for that purpose had been occasioned by Lord Marlborough's discontents at that time, which most people thought were just. To this the Queen wrote a very short and harsh answer, complaining that I had broke my promise of not saying anything of politics or of Mrs Masham ; and concluding that it was plain from this ill-usage what she was to expect for the future.

I could not forbear for my own vindication to write a second letter, in which I assured her Majesty that I should not have troubled her with the first, but that I heard it reported that the per-

secution begun against Lord Marlborough and his family was chiefly occasioned by her Majesty's displeasure and aversion to me, as having promoted an address against Mrs Masham ; that it was only to vindicate myself from that aspersion that I had presumed to trouble her ; that I could not imagine it could be interpreted as an offence to vindicate myself from what was now made the pretence for turning out Lord Sunderland and pushing Lord Marlborough to extremities ; that I had no reason to think that the assuring her Majesty that I would never have any hand in anything against Mrs Masham could have been construed as an ungrateful speaking about her, or called a continuation of ill-usage ; that I thought this was rather a complying with her Majesty's inclination and saying what she could not but approve ; that all the politics in my letter was my concern for Lord Marlborough ; making it at last my most earnest request that her Majesty would only defer the blow till the end of the campaign. This, I added, I begged upon my knees, and left her Majesty to judge whether after such an expression it was likely that I should ever enter into anything that could displease her.

Whether my interfering in this matter hastened the execution of the design I cannot say. Certain it is that it did not retard it, for Lord Sunderland was presently after dismissed from his office. On which occasion several great men, who wished

well to their country and who feared that my Lord Marlborough might in disgust quit the service, immediately wrote him a joint letter, which I shall here insert in honour both of them and of the Duke.

"June 14, 1710.

"My Lord,

"We should not have given your Grace the trouble of this joint letter but for the great concern and uneasiness in which we find you, on account of my Lord Sunderland, by your letter of the 20th to my Lord Treasurer, which he has communicated to us. That letter, as moving and as reasonable as it was, has not hindered the seals from being taken this morning from my Lord Sunderland. No wonder then, if the utmost endeavours which could be used to prevent it and the strong arguments which have been made of the ill consequences that must attend such steps both at home and abroad have met with so little success. We find ourselves so much afflicted with this misfortune that we cannot but be extremely sensible of the great mortification this must give you at this critical juncture, when you are every moment hazarding your life in the service of your country, and whilst the fate of Europe depends in so great a degree on your conduct and good success. But we are also as fully convinced that it is impossible for your Grace to quit the service at this time without the utmost

hazard to the whole alliance. And we must therefore conjure you by the glory you have already obtained, by the many services you have done your Queen and country, by the expectation you have justly raised in all Europe, and by all that is dear and tender to you at home, whose chief dependence is upon your success, that you would not leave this great work unfinished but continue at the head of the army. This we look upon as the most necessary step that can be taken to prevent the dissolution of this parliament. Your Grace's compliance with this our earnest request would be the greatest obligation to us and all that wish well to our country. And you may depend upon it that the contrary will be the greatest satisfaction to your enemies. We are, my Lord, your Grace's most humble and obedient servants,

" Cowper, C.
" Godolphin.
" Somers.
" Newcastle.
" Devonshire.
" Orford.
" Halifax.
" H. Boyle."

The removal of my Lord Sunderland, who was so nearly allied to the Duke of Marlborough, as it had an immediate effect on the funds and the public credit at home, so it gave an alarm to all

the courts concerned in the grand alliance ; an event which brought the Queen's private counsellors under a fresh necessity of deceiving her, and engaging her to promise what they had determined she should not perform. For not only the strongest assurances were given here that there was no thought of any other changes, but Mr Secretary Boyle had orders from the Queen to write to the foreign courts in her name, and assure them that all their fears were groundless, and that she would continue the administration of her affairs in the hands of her present ministry, of whose abilities she had had so long experience. And yet in less than two months after this, and even the very day after the Queen had expressed her desire to my Lord Godolphin himself that he would continue in her service, she dismissed him ; and her letter of order to him to break his staff was sent by no worthier a messenger than a man in livery, to be left with his Lordship's porter. A proceeding which in all its parts would remain very unaccountable, if the Queen herself had not to those who expostulated with her made this undoubtedly true declaration, that she was sorry for it, but could not help it. Unhappy necessity, that urged her to dismiss a minister of my Lord Godolphin's experienced abilities and integrity, and to put into his place a person whom I indeed should be at a loss to describe, but of whom a friend of mine many years ago drew the following just character :—

" He was a cunning and a dark man, of too small abilities to do much good, but of all the qualities requisite to do mischief and to bring on the ruin and destruction of a nation. This mischievous darkness of his soul was written in his countenance and plainly legible in a very odd look, disagreeable to everybody at first sight, which being joined with a constant, awkward motion or rather agitation of his head and body, betrayed a turbulent dishonesty within, even in the midst of all those familiar airs, jocular bowing and smiling, which he always affected, to cover what could not be covered. He had long accustomed himself so much to dissemble his real intentions, and to use the ambiguous and obscure way of speaking, that he could hardly ever be understood when he designed it, or be believed when he never so much desired it. His natural temper led him to so expensive and profuse a way of living that he had brought himself into great necessities, though he had long enjoyed the advantages of very great and profitable posts. One principal and very expensive piece of his art, in which he seems to have excelled all that went before him, was to have in pay a great number of spies of all sorts, to let him into what was passing in all considerable families. It was remarkable that when he came most into favour with the Queen, he was perhaps the only man in whose ruin the two contending parties would have united, as one in whom there was no foundation to repose any confidence. And that

when he came to have the greatest power with the Queen, he had lost all credit everywhere else."

The same necessity which forced her Majesty to dismiss my Lord Godolphin from her service rendered her irreconcilable to me, though by means of one person at Court, who happened to be in good favour with her, I made all possible attempts to remove her unjust prejudices against me. I wrote to him long and plain accounts of what had passed, justifying myself and exposing the ingratitude as well as malice of my enemies. All which accounts he read to the Queen but without any effect upon her. She said not a word to any of these representations except one, wherein I had set forth the faithfulness and frugality with which I had served her in my offices ; and had complained of the attempts made by the agents of her new friends to vilify me all over the nation as one who had cheated my mistress of vast sums of money. Her Majesty on this occasion was pleased to say :—" Everybody knows cheating is not the Duchess of Marlborough's crime."

The same person, to try the Queen further, mentioned my coming to Court, as what might be proper on account of some new clothes, which, as Groom of the Stole, I had by her Majesty's order bought for her. But she presently charged him to advise me, as from himself, not to come. And when after a very successful campaign the

Duke of Marlborough was returned to London, the Queen most readily accepted the resignation, which he carried her from me, of my offices. The Duchess of Somerset was made Groom of the Stole and had the Robes, and Mrs Masham had the Privy Purse.

The Duke of Marlborough, notwithstanding an infinite variety of mortifications, by which it was endeavoured to make him resign his commission (that there might be a pretence to raise an outcry against him as having quitted his Queen's and his country's service, merely because he could not govern in the Cabinet as well as in the field), continued to serve yet another campaign. All his friends here (moved by a true concern for the public welfare) pressed him to it, the confederates called him with the utmost importunity, and Prince Eugene entreated him to come with all the earnestness and passion that could be expressed. He went ; but his authority was now diminished and his forces weakened, many of his best regiments being drawn off, some to go moulder away in Spain and others to be sacrificed in the wild expedition to Quebec. On the other hand the French had regained a spirit by the proceedings of their friends here ; and they seemed to think themselves secure now of bringing disgrace upon a general, who had so often humbled them and whose very name had been among them for many years a sound of terror. His masterly conduct and his surprising

success disappointed the hopes both of our foreign and domestic enemies. The latter seemed to repent that they had permitted him to make this campaign, the happy event of which must unavoidably render a peace with France upon French conditions the more infamous. Yet a peace was so necessary to the preservation of the new minister's power, that it must be had at any rate. And in order to it, the confidence of the French King must be gained. This confidence could never be hoped for, so long as the Duke of Marlborough was at the head of the army. And therefore, as all the arts of malice and detraction had proved ineffectual to make him resign his post, it was become necessary to remove him from it. But what plausible pretence to remove so able and so successful a general, while the war was in appearance still subsisting? A frivolous and groundless complaint in Parliament about certain perquisites he had claimed, as belonging to his station, must serve the turn. The Queen indeed, when he had laid before her what was doing against him by the Commissioners of Accounts, was pleased to say she was sure her servants [her new ministers] would not encourage such proceedings. Nevertheless in a very short time her Majesty, once more pressed by an irresistible necessity, made use of that very complaint as a reason for dismissing him from all his employments.

To the Queen's letter importing this dismission the Duke returned the following answer :—

"MADAM,

"I am very sensible of the honour your Majesty does me in dismissing me from your service by a letter of your own hand, though I find by it that my enemies have been able to prevail with your Majesty to do it in the manner that is most injurious to me. And if their malice and inveteracy against me had not been more powerful with them than the consideration of your Majesty's honour and justice, they would not have influenced you to impute the occasion of my dismission to a false and malicious insinuation contrived by themselves, and made public, when there was no opportunity for me to give in my answer; which, they must needs be conscious, would fully detect the falsehood and malice of their aspersions, and not leave them that handle for bringing your Majesty to such extremities against me.

"But I am much more concerned at an expression in your Majesty's letter, which seems to complain of the treatment you had met with. I know not how to understand that word, nor what construction to make of it. I know I have always endeavoured to serve your Majesty faithfully and zealously through a great many undeserved mortifications. But if your Majesty does intend by that expression to find fault with my not coming to the Cabinet Council, I am very free to acknowledge that my duty to your Majesty and country

would not give me leave to join in the counsel of a man who in my opinion puts your Majesty upon all manner of extremities. And it is not my opinion only, but the opinion of all mankind, that the friendship of France must needs be destructive to your Majesty, there being in that court a root of enmity irreconcilable to your Majesty's government and the religion of these kingdoms. I wish your Majesty may never find the want of so faithful a servant as I have always endeavoured to approve myself to you. I am with the greatest duty and submission,

" Madam,

" Your Majesty's most dutiful and

" obedient subject,

" MARLBOROUGH."

THUS, my Lord, I have given you a short history of my favour with my royal mistress from its earliest rise to its irrecoverable fall. You have seen with admiration how sincere and how great an affection a Queen was capable of having for a servant who never flattered her. And I doubt not but your friendship made some conclusions to my advantage, when you observed for how many years I was able to hold my place in her regard, notwithstanding her most real and invariable passion for that phantom which she called

the Church ; that darling phantom which the Tories were for ever presenting to her imagination, and employing as a will-o'-the-wisp, to bewilder her mind and entice her (as she at last unhappily experienced) to the destruction of her quiet and her glory. But I believe you have thought that the most extraordinary thing in the whole fortune of my favour, was its being at last destroyed by a cause in appearance so unequal to the effect, I mean Mrs Abigail Hill. For I will venture to affirm that whatever may have been laid to my charge of ill behaviour to my mistress in the latter years of my service, is all reducible to this one crime, my inveteracy to poor Masham. I have indeed said that my constant combating the Queen's inclination to the Tories did in the end prove the ruin of my credit with her ; and this is true, in as much as without that her Majesty could never have been engaged to listen to any insinuations against me. Her passion for the Church furnished the sole means by which Mrs Masham, the machine in the hands of Harley, could take hold of her mind, and bring her by degrees to look upon that behaviour in me as rudeness and disrespect, which before had been only sincerity and frankness and a warmth of zeal for her service. And yet, as you have seen, in that very letter where her Majesty tells me I have lost her kindness irrecoverably, she declares that this change is not owing to any fault I have committed. But though the Queen, in her

highest discontent with me and after I had been in her service seven and twenty years, had no crime to lay to my charge except my malice to poor Masham, yet the ready invention of others, who knew nothing of my conduct but whose interest it was to decry me, could presently find in it abundant matter for accusation.

The calumnies against me were so gross, and yet so greedily devoured by the credulity of party rage, that I thought it became me to write and publish something in my own justification ; and the substance of what I am now going to say was contained in a sort of memorial, which for that purpose I drew up in 1712. I have already mentioned by what means I was then dissuaded from making it public and the reasons that now induce me to pursue that design.

It was spread about in libels that I had behaved myself unworthily in my offices and been unfaithful to the trusts reposed in me. That I had abused my favour with the Queen by obtaining unreasonable and exorbitant grants to myself; and that, through an insatiable greediness of riches, I had prostituted to sale titles of honour and places of trust.

As to my conduct with respect to the Robes, this one observation is almost sufficient, that all my accounts of the Robes, for the whole nine years in which I served the Queen in that office, were passed in the Exchequer with the greatest regularity ; and that in passing them, I produced

acquittances for every sum to the value of twenty shillings paid to any tradesman ; which was such a method of exactness as had never before been used by any Master or Mistress of the Robes.

Upon my bringing in the first accounts of this sort, in order to have them passed, it was said, in a report made to the Treasury from Auditor Harley's office, that no such accounts had ever been brought there before. Mr Taylor in the Treasury, and all the clerks of that board, made the like observation. But what is most worthy to be remembered, Mr Harley, the same Mr Harley who was afterwards Lord Treasurer, and who then hired his creatures to misrepresent me throughout all the nation as no better than a pickpocket, the same Mr Harley, I say, upon occasion of his brother's having made an extract from the accounts, which in former reigns had been given in, of the yearly expenses of the Robes, wrote me the following letter :—

" Thursday, August 8, 1706.

" MADAM,

" I missed the opportunity of paying my duty to your Grace last time at Windsor, which occasions you the trouble of this letter. My brother, having made a state of your Grace's accounts, desired that I would receive your pleasure, when you would permit him to wait upon your Grace with it. I perceive your Grace's conduct will shine on all occasions ; for my

brother tells me that he has made a collection from all the accounts which have been brought in for the Robes for forty-six years, since the year 1660, and by that it will appear upon the comparison how much better (to a great value) your Grace has managed for the Crown. He will have the honour to present this to your Grace whenever you please to appoint a time to receive it, etc." [1]

A copy of the collection here mentioned is added at the end of this relation, and whoever will be at the pains to compare the four last years in those accounts (when I had the management of the Robes) with the preceding years in the same accounts, will find that the yearly expense of the Robes in all the reigns before Queen Anne is one year with another above £5040, whereas the expense of the four first years of her reign one with another is not £2900.

But because there is a great deal of difference between the expenses for the Robes of a Queen and the expenses for those of a king, it will be more equitable to compare my accounts for the Robes of Queen Anne with those for Queen Mary's Robes, when under the management of Lady Derby, of which for two years I procured a copy from the office.

It appears that in the first of those two years the expense of Queen Mary's Robes was greater by

[1] The remainder of this letter is in the former part of this relation. Page 140.

a thousand pound than that of Queen Anne's for the whole four years mentioned in Auditor Harley's collection. For the expense of those four years was no more than £11,565, 7s. 1d., whereas the expense of the first year only of Queen Mary was £12,604, 12s. 2d. It appears also that the expense of the Robes in the second year of Queen Mary was £11,131, 9s. 1d., which is not many hundred pounds short of the whole expense of the said four years of Queen Anne.

After these four years the expense of the following five years (which make up the whole time of my service), amounting to £18,972, 9s. 10d., was more in proportion than that of the said four preceding years. This was chiefly occasioned by the extraordinary expense on account of the mourning for the Prince, and the Queen's ordering everything belonging to the Robes of what kind soever to be given away, so that at the end of the mourning all were new at once, and amongst them some very rich clothes, which happened just before I left the office. These two articles necessarily made a considerable increase of the ordinary expense, especially as the Queen gave £600 to the maids of honour to buy them mourning. However, the yearly expense of my nine years, taken one with another, is very small in comparison of the two years before-mentioned, when Lady Derby managed Queen Mary's Robes. For the sum total paid by the Exchequer on account of the Robes in my nine years amounts

only to £32,050, 1s. 3d., as will appear to anyone who will take the trouble to look into the Exchequer Rolls, and if I paid more it must have been out of my own pocket, an indiscretion of which nobody has suspected me. If from this sum of £32,050, 1s. 3d. be deducted the Coronation expense, which was £1512, 4s. 4d., there will remain £30,537, 16s. 11d., and then the yearly expense of the said nine years, one with another, will be £3393, 1s. 9d. But it is to be observed that in this sum are included the salaries and many other things relating to the Robes, amounting to about £1400 a year, which I always put into my account (because I thought it the fairest way), but which before my time were put into a separate account, that the account of the Robes might appear the less. If therefore you subtract this £1400 from the above sum of £3393, 1s. 9d., the remainder (the yearly expense of Queen Anne's Robes in my nine years) is only £1993, 1s. 9d., which is less than the yearly expense of Queen Mary's Robes (according to Lady Derby's accounts hereto annexed) by the yearly sum of £9874, 18s. 10d. So that it evidently appears that by my economy in the nine years I served her Majesty I saved her near £90,000. For I believe it will be granted that, without incurring any censure, I might have swelled the accounts for Queen Anne's Robes to as large a sum as Lady Derby did for Queen Mary's.

But to show how much people were determined to defame me at any rate and at all adventures, I had the fortune that, while some accused me of being too profuse of the Queen's money, others censured me as being too saving of it, and too hard upon the tradesmen I dealt with. It will not be amiss therefore to give some account of this matter, and of the methods I used to reduce the expenses of the Robes to so small a sum.

It is very well known that in the preceding reigns the tradesmen gave money to serve the Crown, which brought in great sums to the Masters of the Robes, but at the same time obliged the tradesmen to charge extravagant prices for their goods, a privilege which could hardly be disputed with them, considering the sums they had given for the custom and the accidents they were then always exposed to by the death of the Prince or the death or removal of the Master of the Robes. But the tradesmen whom I made use of had nothing of this to plead ; they gave no money to serve the Crown, nor were put to any expense, not so much as the customary one of poundage ; they were paid regularly, ran no manner of hazard, and had no more trouble in serving the Queen than in serving a common customer and therefore I did not think it reasonable that they should be allowed above a shilling or two in the pound extraordinary for their goods. But those who had the honour to see the Queen, and to make her clothes, were allowed more than

the double of what they had from the first quality. And this was all I thought myself at liberty to do in an office in which I was entirely trusted.

My method to prevent all mistakes or abuses was always to sign the tradesmen's bills at the same time that they delivered their goods. They were paid by Mrs Thomas, a person of whose honesty I had had long experience, and to whom I had given the employment of Chief of the Robes, making it worth to her between two and three hundred pounds a year, not by a salary, but by old clothes and other little advantages; and I had a promise from her never to take money of any of the tradesmen. It is very certain that she was punctual to this promise, and if any of the tradesmen[1] themselves are still living, they will I am sure bear witness to it.

I come now to my management of the Privy Purse, the yearly allowance for which was £20,000; not half the sum allowed in King William's time, and indeed very little, considering how great a charge there was fixed upon it by custom, the Queen's bounties, play money, healing gold, and charities, besides the many pensions that were paid out of it. The allowance was augmented to £26,000 two years before I left the office. But in those two years Mrs Masham

[1] The principals of them were Mr Vernon, Mr Inchly, Mr Sands upon Ludgate Hill, and Mr Alexander in Covent Garden, all Mercers; Mrs Devet, Mrs Tombes and Mr Bagshaw, who kept Indian shops; and Mr Eliot (since succeeded by his nephew), a laceman in the Strand.

was become the great dispenser of the Queen's money, I only bringing to her Majesty the sums that were called for.

The Privy Purse is not subject to any account by law, notwithstanding which I observed the same method with regard to this as with regard to the Robes, taking acquittances from all persons to whom I paid any money, and from the Queen herself for all sums paid into her own hands, as likewise a discharge from her Majesty upon every account given in, which discharge was in these words :—

"I have examined these accounts and am satisfied they are right.— Anne R."

The money of the Privy Purse was paid upon my notes by Mr Coggs, a goldsmith over against St Clement's Church, whom I strictly charged never to take any poundage, which used constantly to be taken before my time. But I thought it would be as mean as it was inhuman to deduct from charities, and make advantage of the indigence of others, and therefore I broke that custom. Let anyone then judge from the whole, whether I did not put this office into such a method as rendered it impossible for me to cheat the Queen, even supposing I could at any time have been base enough to desire it.

The second charge against me is that of abusing my favour with the Queen by obtaining unreasonable and exorbitant grants to myself.

I have never been disposed to deny any of the Queen's favours to me; I have always remembered them with gratitude, and freely spoke of them as there was occasion; and I shall here give a particular account of all the grants and bounties I ever had from her.

I have in the former part of this relation taken notice of my being appointed one of the Ladies of her Bedchamber, at her own request, upon her marriage with the Prince of Denmark. The salary of this place was £200 a year.

I have mentioned also that her Royal Highness, upon the Countess of Clarendon's leaving her to go to Ireland, advanced me to be first Lady of the Bedchamber; by which promotion I came to have a yearly salary of £400.

I have further related that the Princess, soon after her obtaining a settlement by Parliament of £50,000 a year, believing that she owed the ease and independency of her condition to the zeal, industry and diligence of my Lord Marlborough and myself upon that occasion, was pleased to grant me, of her own motion, an annual pension of £1000. And I cannot here entirely pass over the intention which her Royal Highness had of giving us another mark of her favour, when my Lord Marlborough fell into disgrace with King William. She would have made a new office for him in her Court, like that which Lord Berkeley had in her father's. But as soon as I was apprised of this design, I dissuaded her from it; because

I thought it not reasonable on her own account ; and besides, as I lived in friendship with Sir Benjamin Bathurst, who would have been hurt by the creation of such an office, I thought this a sufficient reason for declining the offer.

A little before the Princess came to the Crown, my eldest daughter was to be married to Lord Godolphin's son, on which occasion her Highness wrote to me in these terms :—

" I have a request to make to my dear Mrs Freeman. It is that whenever dear Lady Hariotte marries, you would give me leave to give her something to keep me in her thoughts ; " and concluded thus :—" I beg my poor mite may be accepted, being offered from a heart that is without any reserve, with more passion and sincerity my dear Mrs Freeman's than any other can be capable of."

The mite which the Princess here speaks of was £10,000, the whole portion that was to be paid on my daughter's marriage. It had always been the custom for the Crown to give portions to the daughters of their favourites, but the Princess having but £50,000 a year, I thought the offer too large for her income, and would therefore accept no more than the half of it.

The like sum of £5000 the Princess gave to my second daughter when she was married to Lord Sunderland, adding a promise at the same time to take care of all my children.

I fancy, my Lord, if you consider only the almost unparalleled affection the Queen had for me, you will be little surprised either at these expressions of it or those which I am going to relate. And you will certainly be much less so, if you can believe the Queen herself in a matter where perhaps it would not become me to expatiate, I mean the proofs I had given her of my affectionate fidelity in her service and inviolable attachment to her interests and happiness. It would be as endless as it is needless to transcribe all the letters I have from her to this purpose. A few extracts from some of them will be sufficient.

On occasion of something done for the Prince in King William's time, she wrote to me in these terms :—

"I was going to thank your Lord myself for what was done last night concerning the Prince's business, it being wholly owing to your and his kindness, or else I am sure it would never have been brought to any effect. But I durst not do it, for fear of not being able to express the true sense of my poor heart, and therefore I must desire my dear Mrs Freeman to say a great deal both for Mr Morley and myself. And though we are poor in words, yet be so just as to believe we are truly sensible, and most faithfully yours. And as for your faithful Morley, be assured she is more, if it be possible, than ever her dear, dear Mrs Freeman's."

In another, after complaining to me of being ill served (as indeed she was to a very great degree), she adds :—

" Though it will be impossible for me to have everything done to my mind, unless I could meet with a Mrs Freeman in every post of my family ; but her fellow I do really believe is not to be found the world over, and I am sure I never can have any friend that will be so dear to me as she is."

In another (I forget upon what occasion) :—

" I give you millions of thanks for all your and Mr Freeman's kindness, which I am more truly sensible of than I can express, and shall never be satisfied with anything I can either do or say in return ; for where one owes so much, one can never get out of debt. But whilst I have life, I will endeavour to show my dear Mrs Freeman I have a grateful heart that is most passionately and faithfully at her command."

When her Royal Highness was pleased to give the £5000 I have mentioned on my eldest daughter's marriage, I wrote her a letter full of gratitude and respect. At that time I kept no copies of my letters, having no suspicion that I should ever have occasion for such vouchers ; however the Princess's answer will show the tenor of what I wrote, as well as her Highness's sentiments in my regard :—

" My dear Mrs Freeman has no reason to be uneasy with the thoughts that she can never do enough to deserve my kindness, for she has done more than ever any mortal did to merit another's friendship. And it is very kind in setting so great a value upon so poor an expression as I have made of my truth, which upon my word I am not satisfied with, it coming far short of what my heart is inclined to do. But as long as I live, I must be endeavouring to show that never anybody had a sincerer passion for another than I have for dear Mrs Freeman."

All these favours I received from the Princess before she came to the Crown ; soon after which I had the following letter from her, which as it shows the continuance of her sincere affection for me, will at the same time serve for a voucher that I did not accept the whole that was offered for a portion to my eldest daughter.

" Friday morning.

" My Lord Bridgewater being in haste to be married, I cannot any longer defer telling my dear Mrs Freeman what I have intended a great while, that I hope she will now give me leave to do what I had a mind to when dear Lady Hariotte was married, and let me speak to my Lord Treasurer about it when I see him, etc."

This letter was a kind proof that the Queen had not forgot her promise of providing for all

my children, which she afterwards fully performed by giving the like portion to my fourth daughter.

I shall now mention all the grants made to myself during the whole time that I served her Majesty.

The first was the office of Ranger of the great and little Parks at Windsor. This I esteemed as a great favour, because the Lodge in the great Park (the same that Mr May enjoyed many years, and after him the Earl of Portland) is a very agreeable place to live in; and because her Majesty was pleased to give it me of her own accord, remembering that when we used in former days to ride by it, I had often wished for such a place. The Lodge in the little Park at that time was no better than such as the underkeepers live in, and I gave it to a brother of the Duke of Marlborough's, who was so well pleased with the situation as to lay out five or six thousand pounds upon it; of which the Crown will have the advantage after one life, as also of between four and five thousand pounds that I laid out upon the Lodge in the great Park.

This grant used to be represented to the public as worth £4000 a year; but all the keepers and many of the inhabitants of Windsor know that I never made any advantage of it worth mentioning, unless the milk of a few cows and a little firing when I was there may be reckoned such. And how indeed can it be imagined that any

other profits could arise from it (without taking away the very allowances of the keepers), when it is remembered that to answer the Crown warrants it is necessary to keep up four or five thousand head of deer in the Park, for which the allowance was but £500 a year (which however was taken from me some years ago), and that the Ranger must be at the expense of making, and sometimes of buying, hay for the deer ; that the keepers' wages were payable out of this allowance, with several other expenses which in Parks belonging to the Crown are much greater than in others ? So that the thing had plainly very little to recommend it besides the pleasantness of the habitation.

The next grant, of which by my Lord Godolphin's means I obtained the promise from the Queen, after the Queen Dowager's death, was the ground in St James's Park upon which my house stands. This has been valued by my enemies at £10,000. How justly let anyone determine who will consider that a certain rent is paid for it to the Exchequer, that the grant was at first but for fifty years, and that the building has cost between forty and fifty thousand pounds, of which the Queen never paid one shilling, though many people have been made to believe otherwise.

These were the only grants I ever had from the Queen except one, which occasioned the witty comparison that was made between me and the

lady's woman, who out of her mistress's pin-money of £26, put twenty-two into her own pocket. The matter was this. At the Queen's accession to the government she used to lament to me that, the Crown being impoverished by former grants, she wanted the power her predecessors had enjoyed to reward faithful servants; and she desired me to take out of the Privy Purse £2000 a year in order to some purchase for my advantage. I made my grateful acknowledgments to her Majesty, but at the same time said that as her Majesty was so good to provide for my children, and as the offices I enjoyed by her favour brought me in more than I wanted, I could not think it reasonable to accept her offer; and I absolutely refused it. The Queen some time after in two several letters pressed me to receive this bounty, and she frequently did the same by word of mouth. Nevertheless I constantly declined it until the time that, notwithstanding the uncommon regard I had shown to her Majesty's interest and honour in the execution of my trusts, she was pleased to dismiss me from her service. Then indeed it was thought I had no longer the same reason to be scrupulous on this head. By the advice of my friends I sent the Queen one of her own letters, in which she had pressed me to take the £2000 a year; and I wrote at the same time to ask her Majesty whether she would allow me to charge in the Privy Purse accounts, which I was to send her, that yearly sum from the time

of the offer, amounting to £18,000. Her Majesty was pleased to answer that I might charge it. This therefore I did, inserting in my accounts (which were a kind of memorial) these words :—

"After the Princess came to the Crown, she was pleased to write to me to take £2000 a year out of the Privy Purse, and to make no more words of it, and lay it up to do something with it ; because, she added, she had not power to do as others had done before her to reward faithful services. And I might own or conceal it as I liked best ; for she did not care who knew what she gave to one she could never reward enough."

Her Majesty, after keeping my accounts a sufficient time to have them carefully examined (I suppose by Mr Harley), returned them to me signed in this manner :—

"Feb. 1, 1710-11.

"I have examined these accounts, and allow of them.

"Anne R."

If some persons may be inclined to censure my conduct in this particular as too interested, yet everybody must, I think, be candid enough to own that it showed a consciousness of my integrity in the discharge of my trusts, and that I feared no accusation upon that head, even from malice in power. Nay, I will venture to say that impartial judges will not think this part of my

behaviour liable to any criticism, when they remember and consider that, by my unprecedented fidelity and economy in the discharge of my offices, I saved to her Majesty not only more than the sum in question but more than the whole value of all the gratuities I ever had from her. For besides the bounties I have already mentioned, the Queen after her coming to the Crown never made me the present of a diamond, or of anything worth taking notice of, during the whole time that I was in her favour.

As to my offices under the Queen they were indeed considerable, and I have ever acknowledged them to be so, amounting to £5600 a year, deducting only for taxes and fees. But it is to be remembered that they were only the same employments that I had executed when she was Princess, at the salary of £400 a year; and it was therefore nothing extraordinary that she should continue me in them when she came to be Queen. And in what manner I discharged these offices I have already related.

I come now to the third article of accusation against me, that I prostituted to sale titles of honour and places of trust.

As for titles of honour, I never was concerned in making any Peer but one, and that was my Lord Hervey, the present Earl of Bristol. I had made a promise to Sir Thomas Felton, when the Queen came first to the Crown, that if her Majesty should ever make any new Lords, I would cer-

tainly use my interest that Mr Hervey might be one. And accordingly, though I was retired into the country under the most sensible affliction for the death of my only son, yet when the Queen had resolved to create four Peers, Granville, Guernsey, Gower and Conway, I had such a regard to my word that I wrote to Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin that if they did not endeavour to get Mr Hervey made a Peer, I neither would nor could show my face any more. The thing was done purely at my request, and at a time when affairs at Court ran so violently against the whole party of Whigs that Mr Hervey had laid aside all hopes of the Peerage, and was therefore surprised to the last degree, when a message came to him from the Duke of Marlborough, that he must come on such a day by the Backstairs to kiss the Queen's hand for being made a Peer. On this occasion my Lady Hervey wrote to me in the following terms :—

" March 14, 1702.

" Madam,

" Mr Hervey and myself have both so long and justly sacrificed the satisfaction of our own to the ease and quiet of your Grace's mind, that could you know what incessant importunities we have resisted from the one, you would the easilier forgive the unseasonable interruptions we fear this must at last prove to the other ; but the sense of our obligations to your Grace calls too clamor-

ously upon us to be any farther withstood, and therefore we rather venture this intrusion upon your solitude than to be longer silent upon a subject, which requires the earliest endeavours after all returns that can be made your Grace by us for it. I know nothing we have so much at heart (unless it be the due sympathy we feel of your Grace's present condition) as how we may in some sort deserve the great honour her Majesty has been so graciously pleased to bestow on us and our family by your Grace's kind mediation, and how we may ever acquit ourselves of so generous a piece of friendship towards your Grace, which I am very sure we both think the future study of our lives can never enough compensate, unless your Grace's usual goodness will accept of the most zealous and grateful wills for payment; and then we conclude the chief of those very many, whom you have bound to be your Grace's well-wishers, must remain as much if not more indebted to you than I know Mr Hervey (so qualified) to be as well as,

" Madam,

" Your Grace's most obliged,

" and faithful humble servant,

" E. Hervey."

This letter would alone be a sufficient proof that the service I then did was not the purchase of money; but my Lord Bristol is still living, who will vouch for the truth of this account.

Certain it is that I might have made considerable profit by this sort of traffic, could I have thought it consistent with justice and honour. I was offered £6000 to get Mr Coke of Norfolk made a Peer. And how easy and inoffensive a thing would this have been at that time? For he was a gentleman of an estate equal to the title desired, and was grandson to the Duke of Leeds, and in that interest which then carried all before it at Court. The answer I gave to the proposal was to this effect :—

That I thought her Majesty, the fountain of honour, should never bestow it but upon true merit, and as an encouragement to such persons as were considerable enough to be useful to their Prince ; and that the granting the Peerage upon such generous conditions was the most likely way to oblige those she honoured with it and strongly engage them to her service ; to which they would look upon themselves as but little bound on account of their titles, if these were the purchase of their own money.

And as I was never carried by avarice to concern myself in procuring titles of honour for others, so I shall take occasion to observe here that ambition had no share in procuring that new title, which by her Majesty's favour to my Lord Marlborough I myself acquired. The following letters will be some proof of it. The first is from my Lord Godolphin :—

" Thursday night, Oct. 22.

" By the enclosed address from the House of Lords, which is to be presented to the Queen to-morrow, you will see they take notice very thankfully of the benefits they receive from her Majesty's protection, and mention her good successes with better grace for her, in my opinion, than if she had done it herself.

" I shall send a copy of this address to-morrow by the post to my Lord Marlborough, because I believe it will be a satisfaction to him. I am apt to think Mrs Morley may say something to you upon this subject, which perhaps you may not like, but I think it must be endured upon such an occasion, when it is visible to all the world that it is not done upon your own account."

My Lord had rightly conjectured ; for I received a letter of the same date with his from the Queen upon the same subject :—

" St James's, Thursday, 22 October.

" I have had this evening the satisfaction of my dear Mrs Freeman's of yesterday, for which I give you many thanks, and though I think it a long time since I saw you, I do not desire you to come one minute sooner to town than it is easy to you, but will wait with patience for the happy hour, and only beg when you do come you would send for a coach and not make use of a chaise. Lord Treasurer intends to send you

a copy of the address from the House of Lords, which is to be given me to-morrow, and that gives me an opportunity of mentioning a thing to you that I did not intend to do yet. It is very uneasy to your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley to think she has so very little in her power to show how truly sensible I am of all my Lord Marlborough's kindness, especially at a time when he deserves all that a rich Crown could give. But since there is nothing else at this time, I hope you will give me leave, as soon as he comes, to make him a Duke. I know my dear Mrs Freeman does not care for anything of that kind, nor I am not satisfied with it, because it does not enough express the value I have for Mr Freeman, nor nothing ever can how passionately I am yours, my dear Mrs Freeman."

The other letter from my Lord Godolphin, as far as it relates to this affair, is in these terms :—

" Saturday night.

" I give you many thanks for the favour of your letter, which I received this evening. I did easily believe Mrs Morley's letter would make you uneasy, but having her commands not to speak of it, I durst not say any more than just to prepare you to submit to what I found by her she was convinced was necessary for the satisfaction of the public. I have waited upon her this evening to let her see how truly uneasy you were, and have begged of her, when she sees you,

not to part till she has made you easy again, either by your submitting to please her, or by her condescending to cure your apprehensions."

As these letters from my Lord Godolphin were written at a time when there could not be even the remotest view of making them public, they show that in his opinion, at least, I was not ambitious of a higher title, which indeed I considered as what would serve only to provoke malice without giving me the least degree of pleasure.

As to selling places, which was the last thing I was to clear myself from, I shall now give an account of my conduct with respect to this charge, from the time that I came first into any office at Court.

A little before I succeeded Lady Clarendon in the post of first Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Denmark, her Highness wrote to me that she intended to take two new Pages of the Backstairs, but that she would not do it till my Lady Clarendon was gone, that I might have the advantage of putting them in, meaning that I might have the advantage of selling those two places. For it must be remarked that at that time no person who was in any office at Court, with places in his disposal, made any more scruple of selling them than of receiving his settled salary or the rents of his estate. It is no great wonder therefore, that being a young courtier, and not

very rich, and having such an express direction from my mistress, I followed the prevailing custom and sold those two places. Yet it was not long before I began to condemn in my own mind this practice. There was something I thought that felt wrong in the selling of employments, and from this thought I came presently to a resolution never more to make any advantage to myself by such means. And when some time after the Princess thought proper to part with her Roman Catholic servants, three in number, of whom two were Pages of the Backstairs, and of which two one had bought his place of me at the time before mentioned and paid £400 for it, I gave him back the whole sum ; and I gave the like sum to the other Roman Catholic Page, though he had risen to this employment from being footman, and without money. Nay, I procured for this man, whose name was Guyn, the continuation of his salary for life, which I mention only that I may speak of his uncommon gratitude. For during five and twenty years afterwards I did not set out upon a journey from London without finding him at my coach-side full of his good wishes for my health and happiness.

The first vacancy that happened under the Prince, whose confidence in me was equal to that of the Princess, was of the place of Groom of the Bedchamber. This I procured for Mr Maul, who knowing what was usual in such cases, sent a message to me, desiring leave to make me a

present, to which I immediately returned answer that I was resolved against everything of that kind.

Another place that became vacant under the Prince was that of Groom of the Stole, which being given to my Lord Delawar, he brought a present of £500 to Mr Guidot for me ; but Mr Guidot, who knew my dislike of such practices, quickly satisfied him that I would not accept of it. I had afterwards many letters from his Lordship, and some but a little before my leaving the Court, full of the greatest acknowledgments ; and to him I always appealed for the truth of this fact.

I also refused a present from my Lord Lexington, who employed Mr Scarborough to make me the offer, when his Lordship was desirous to be Master of the Horse to the Prince.

When the Queen came to the Crown, I had every day much greater opportunities than before of making advantage of her favour, but I invariably adhered to the resolution I had taken. And I doubt not but every candid person will be perfectly convinced of this, when I have finished what I have to say upon the subject.

Had I been disposed to heap up money by the sale of employments, I should certainly not have neglected to sell those, which by virtue of my offices were in my own disposal. I might have done it with the greatest ease, and custom had given me a sort of right to do it ; but I could never think of selling my own favour, any more than that of my royal mistress.

The first places which I had to dispose of were those of the three Pages of the Backstairs, places so considerable that several Grooms of the Stole were credibly said to have sold them for a thousand guineas each. But these I gave freely to Mr Kirk, Mr Saxton and Mr Smith, and purely at the request of three ladies, the Lady Charlotte Beverwaert, the Lady Fitzharding and the Countess of Plymouth.

The other places in my disposal were in the office of the Robes :—Waiters, Coffer-bearers, Groom of the Wardrobe, Chief of the Robes, Starcher, Sempstress.

Were the persons I have named above, and those to whom I gave these last-mentioned employments, all or most of them now living, as they were in 1712, when this account was first drawn up, their testimony (to which I had there appealed) would have amounted to a positive proof of my integrity and disinterestedness on these occasions. But as this kind of proof cannot now be had, so neither is it wanted, there being still a negative one, which I am persuaded must appear no less strong and irresistible. And it is this :—

My enemies at a time when they had all power in their hands, when they had raised such a spirit of virulence and malice as would make anything to my prejudice readily believed, when they both could and would have amply rewarded any person that was capable of proving the base practices

they charged me with, even then I say all their accusations were general ; they were never able to fix upon me any one particular action, either unjust, mercenary or even ungenerous in the use I made of my royal mistress's favour, or in the management of my own great offices. Nay, they never pretended to name or to appeal to any one person for a proof of what they laid to my charge.

But, my Lord, all I have hitherto said on this article of accusation is to satisfy those who are not acquainted with me. Those who are will, I am persuaded, believe me upon my word, when I affirm, as I here solemnly do, that (excepting the Pages' money above-mentioned) I never received the value of one shilling in money or jewels, or in any other form, either directly or indirectly, by myself or by any other person, for procuring any place or preferment, or any title of honour, or any employment in my own disposal, or, in a word, for doing any favour during my whole life.

I am,

My Lord, etc.

20 Jan. 1741-2.

Duchess of Marlborough

An Account of the state of the disbursements and allowances in the office of the Robes, within the times hereafter mentioned.

Collected by Mr Auditor Harley.

Masters of the Robes.	From	£	s.	d.
Earl of Ogle.	May 29, 1660 to March 25, 1662	16,831	10	1
L. Hyde, Esq. / L. E. of Rochester.	March 25, 1662 to March 25, 1663	6,781	15	6
L. E. of Rochester.	March 25, 1663 to March 24, 1664	6,968	4	10
	March 25, 1664 to March 24, 1665	6,982	16	8
	March 25, 1665 to March 24, 1666	6,085	1	0
	March 25, 1666 to Sept. 29, 1668	5,158	10	3
	Sept. 29, 1668 to Sept. 29, 1669	5,480	16	2
	Sept. 29, 1669 to Sept. 29, 1670	4,518	7	11
	Sept. 29, 1670 to Michaelmas 1671	6,723	3	0
	Michael. 1671 to Michael. 1672	5,861	6	11
	Michael. 1672 to Michael. 1673	5,617	14	4
	Michael. 1673 to Michael. 1674	5,407	13	3½
	Michael. 1674 to Michael. 1675	4,283	8	11
	Michael. 1675 to Michael. 1676	4,572	16	8½
	Michael. 1676 to Michael. 1677	5,427	3	3½
	Michael. 1677 to Lady Day 1678	2,508	1	6
H. Sydney, Esq.	Lady Day 1678 to Lady Day 1680	3,832	1	7½
	Lady Day 1680 to Lady Day 1681	4,305	19	6½
	Lady Day 1681 to Lady Day 1682	8,028	17	8¼
E. of Rochefort.	Feb. 13, 1688 to Feb. 13, 1689	4,473	4	4
	Expense for the Coronation	2,627	19	1
	Feb. 13, 1689 to Feb. 13, 1690	4,206	1	8
	Feb. 13, 1690 to Feb. 13, 1691	4,525	6	5½
	Feb. 13, 1691 to Feb. 13, 1692	4,100	13	2
	Feb. 13, 1692 to Feb. 13, 1693	4,369	7	5
	Feb. 13, 1693 to May 5, 1695	5,545	18	2
E. of Albemarle.	May 5, 1695 to May 4, 1696	3,513	7	9
	May 4, 1696 to May 4, 1697	5,111	5	6
	May 4, 1697 to May 4, 1698	3,120	19	5½
	May 4, 1698 to May 4, 1699	5,733	10	2½
Her Grace the Duchess of Marlborough.	March 8, 1701 to Lady Day 1703	3,950	16	7
	Lady Day 1703 to Lady Day 1704	3,156	3	8
	Lady Day 1704 to Lady Day 1706	4,458	6	10

A Particular of bills attested by the Right Honourable Elizabeth, Countess of Derby, Lady of her Majesty's Robes, and paid, viz.:—

		£	s.	d.
Aug. 21, 1689.	To Sarah Browne	7	10	0
Sept. 4.	To Dan. Browne	2,103	10	0
16.	To Jane Harrison	27	14	0
	To Stephen Hugueny	15	0	0
Jan. 3.	To Nath. James	4	0	0
	To Richard Brown	13	10	0
4.	To Sir Francis Childe	1,400	0	0
23.	To Mary Bampton	1,697	14	9
	To Stephen Hugueny	9	0	0
	To Richard Howse	33	10	0
	To Thomas Alkhorn	479	17	6
	To Robert Blake	84	0	0
	To Ellis Cryer	13	19	6
	To Gerrard Smale	74	5	0
	To Catharine Mulys	34	7	6
	To Matthew Reynolds	100	0	0
	To Mary Ferguson	385	1	6
	To Serena Cozens	14	19	6
	To Peter Lombard	44	15	0
	To Henry Robins	40	17	2
	To William Garrway	62	7	0
	To Edward Vickars	7	13	2
	To Francis Kinsman	104	7	0
	To Thomas Tompion	213	18	6
	To Eliz. Graydon	90	14	8
	To Henry Cope	571	17	7
	To Jane Harrison	15	1	0
	To Richard Beavoir	2,156	13	0
	To Richard Cooper	584	2	4
	To Philip La Sage	32	15	0
	To Solomon de Medina	130	17	0
	To Godfrey Poole	6	16	6
	To Gilbert Kirk	86	5	3
	To Eliz. Perrier	122	0	0
	To Thomas Morton	1,244	14	11
	Carried over	£12,013	14	4

		£	s.	d.
	Brought over .	12,013	14	4
Jul. 17, 1690.	To Sarah Brown	30	0	0
	To Mary Ferguson . . .	148	0	0
	To Marg. Wood	6	0	0
25.	To Eliz. Worthington . . .	7	10	0
	To Nicholas Alexander . . .	25	6	10
	To James Chase	5	0	0
	To Aaron Dally	134	13	6
August 25.	To Mary Ferguson . . .	104	17	6
29.	To Eliz. Worthington . . .	58	10	0
	To Matth. Reynolds . . .	71	0	0
		£12,604	12	2

A Particular of bills attested by the Countess of Derby, and paid, viz. 1690.

		£	s.	d.
October 24.	To Anne Dewhurst . . .	13	16	0
Dec. 27.	To Peter Harashe	394	10	10
	To Mary Devet	102	14	6
Jan. 23.	To Richard Beavoir . . .	2,067	6	7
Mar. 23.	To the Countess of Derby . .	64	10	0
	To William Tuer	40	18	6
24.	To Edward Vickars . . .	23	6	8
	To Mary Ferguson . . .	160	0	0
1691. 26.	To Sarah Browne	20	0	0
31.	To Eliz. Worthington . . .	107	5	0
	To Christopher Spicer . . .	50	9	3
	To Anne Dewhurst . . .	13	0	0
	To Stephen Hugueny . . .	15	0	0
	To Mr Corns	17	4	0
	To Mr Schent	112	0	0
	To John Bishop	83	0	0
	To Robert Blake	92	15	0
	To Robert Roads	22	4	0
	To Jos. Coles	42	0	0
	To Matth. Reynolds . . .	67	10	0
April 2.	To Mary Ferguson . . .	389	6	6
21.	To William Garraway . . .	13	19	0
	To Gilb. Kirk	120	5	0
	Carried over .	£4,033	0	10

		£	s.	d.
	Brought over .	4,033	0	10
June 28.	To Eliz. du Perrier . . .	250	0	0
August 15.	To Anne Vander Hoeven . .	221	19	0
Septemb. 2.	To Mary Ferguson . . .	89	0	0
	To Sarah Browne . . .	30	0	0
October 6.	To Mr Tho. Morton . . .	248	0	0
	To Thomas Alchorne . . .	1,008	0	0
	To John Prince	203	11	0
	To John Prince	352	0	0
	To Ditto	296	6	0
	To Godfrey Poole	124	18	0
	To Mary Bampton . . .	853	9	5
	To George Hanbury . . .	157	6	10
	To Ditto	58	0	0
	To Gerrard Smale	137	12	0
	To Jos. Coles	25	10	0
	To Tho. Cherret	1,275	0	0
	To Solomon Medina . . .	244	13	0
	To Tho. Herbert	172	10	0
	To Richard Cooper . . .	692	0	0
	To Ellen Becker	149	6	0
	To Stephen Hugueny . . .	15	18	0
	To Matthew Talbot . . .	20	10	0
	To Henry Senthouse . . .	69	15	0
	To William Garraway . . .	106	14	0
	To John Deacle	90	0	0
	To Henry Robins	10	10	0
	To Aaron Dally	112	0	0
	To Matthew Reynolds . . .	84	0	0
		£11,131	9	1

Characters of her Contemporaries

by

Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough

Characters of her Contemporaries

by

Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough

ON THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH'S DISMISSAL FROM ALL HIS EMPLOYMENTS IN 1712

THIS removal of the Duke of Marlborough was justly looked upon as a finishing stroke and an effectual declaration that everything was now to be in concert with France. Everything indeed seemed dictated from thence, and every step looked more and more like the counsels of Versailles. But I enter no further into what all the world was afterwards a witness to.

The fatal period had now the finishing stroke. The noblest scheme that was ever laid for the preservation and establishment of the liberties of Europe, for reducing the exorbitant power of France, for the security of Great Britain and the Protestant religion for ages to come from any probable attempt, and a scheme that had been blessed beyond all expectation, that had proceeded gloriously, and was now come within view of the great ends proposed, this scheme was now all at once dissolved and broken to pieces; chiefly I

may say by the unbounded ambition and resentment of one man, and by the weakness, credulity and inconsistency of one woman.

When I reflect upon all this, I sometimes think with myself that when posterity shall come to read the annals of our times, a scene of glory, conquest, and victory without intermission at last ending in this manner, were there not authentic records to the contrary, they must certainly conclude that just in the most unhappy crisis Queen Anne the wise, the good, the just, the honourable, unfortunately died ; and that she was succeeded by another of the same name, but of a temper and principles directly opposite ; one who loved only those whom her predecessor hated, and hated those whom she loved, one glorying in breaking the contracts and unravelling the scheme in which her predecessor had triumphed ; one taking a pride in raising those up, whom she had cast down as public enemies, and in casting those to the earth whom she had seated on thrones ; one, in a word, untouched with the miseries of her country and posterity ; unmoved with the unhappiness of the world about her ; giving back, as it were in sport, all the glories and victories purchased with her subjects' blood and treasure, and abusing them to their own unhappiness and misery ; one incapable of either understanding or following the good counsels which had made her predecessor so great ; but selfish, passionate, headstrong, preferring the satisfaction of her own

JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

National Portrait Gallery.

| *face p.* 228

private humour or resentment before the safety of her own people and of all Europe. But when they shall be assured by all the monuments and records of history that this was one and the same Queen Anne, who filled the whole period of time ; the same who, after having fought so long and so successfully against France, raised it to a greater pitch of power than it ever enjoyed before ; the same who, after having made Charles King of Spain, presently dethroned him ; the same who, after having entered into the most solemn alliances and contracts, broke through them with so much resolution and ease ; the same who, after having owed the quiet and security of her life to her great general and other faithful ministers, afterwards rewarded them with all the ignominy and disgrace she could heap upon them ; the same who—— but I am weary of recounting these unpleasant things. When posterity comes to be assured of this, will it not shock and surprise them ? And will not many be apt to ask what part her justice had in this procedure ? What her piety ? What her gratitude ? What her honour ? What her faith ? And what her constancy ?

I will give no further answer to these questions but what these papers have already given. Facts speak too plainly to be denied or obscured. A short character of that Princess, drawn from these facts and some other notices, of the truth of which I am certain, shall now conclude these memoirs.

Queen Anne had a person and appearance not

at all ungraceful, till she grew exceeding gross and corpulent. There was something of majesty in her look, but mixed with a sullen and constant frown, that plainly betrayed a gloominess of soul and a cloudiness of disposition within. She seemed to inherit a good deal of her father's moroseness, which naturally produced in her the same sort of stubborn positiveness in many cases, both ordinary and extraordinary, as well as the same sort of bigotry in religion.

Her memory was exceeding great, almost to a wonder, and had these two peculiarities very remarkable in it, that she could, whenever she pleased, forget what others would have thought themselves obliged by truth and honour to remember, and remember all such things as others would think it an happiness to forget. Indeed she chose to retain in it very little besides ceremonies and customs of courts and suchlike insignificant trifles ; so that her conversation, which otherwise might have been enlivened by so great a memory, was only made the more empty and trifling by its chiefly turning upon fashions and rules of precedence, or observations upon the weather, or some such poor topics, without any variety or entertainment. Upon which account it was a sort of unhappiness to her that she naturally loved to have a great crowd come to her ; for when they were come to Court, she never cared to have them come in to her nor to go out herself to them, having little to say to them but that it was either

hot or cold, and little to enquire of them, but how long they had been in town or the like weighty matters. She never discovered any readiness of parts, either in asking questions or in giving answers. In matters of ordinary moment her discourse had nothing of brightness or wit ; and in weightier matters she never spoke but in a road, and had a certain knack of sticking to what had been dictated to her, to a degree often very disagreeable, and without the least sign of understanding or judgment.

Her letters were very indifferent, both in sense and spelling, unless that they were generally enlivened with a few passionate expressions, sometimes pretty enough, but repeated over and over again, without the mixture of anything either of diversion or instruction.

Her civility and good manners in conversation (to which the education of great persons naturally leads) were general enough, till in her latter days her new friends untaught her these accomplishments, and then her whole deportment was visibly changed to that degree that, when some things disagreeable to her own honour or passion have been laid before her, she would descend to the lowest and most shocking forms of contradiction, and what, in any of a meaner station, would have been esteemed the height of unpoliteness.

Her friendships were flames of extravagant passion, ending in indifference or aversion. Her love to the Prince seemed in the eye of the world

to be prodigiously great ; and great as was the passion of her grief, her stomach was greater ; for that very day he died she ate three very large and hearty meals, so that one would think that as other persons' grief takes away their appetites, her appetite took away her grief. Nor was it less remarkable, where there was so great an appearance of love, the peculiar pleasure she took before his funeral in settling the order of it, and naming the persons that were to attend, and placing them according to their rank and to the rules of precedence, which was the entertainment she gave herself every day till that solemnity was over.

I know that in some libels she has been reproached as one who indulged herself in drinking strong liquors, but I believe this was utterly groundless and that she never went beyond such a quantity of strong wines as her physicians judged to be necessary for her.

Her religion was chiefly implicit faith and subjection, accompanied with the form and course of a sort of piety. She had a zeal for the Church as for an infallible guide, and a devotion for churchmen to such a degree as if she thought this sufficient to sanctify every other part of her conduct ; and the churchmen repaid her civility in compliments and adorations ; for I have often blushed both for her and for her preachers, when I have heard it almost constantly, with the most fulsome flattery, affirmed to her face, and to her satisfaction, that all we enjoyed was granted by

Almighty God as the reward of her piety and religion. And indeed, if religion consist in such zeal and such devotion, or in punctual and formal preparations for the Communion, or the like (as she had learnt, without doubt, from such tutors as she had been blessed with), then it cannot be denied that she had as much religion as well could be lodged in one breast.

But if religion be justice, truth, sincerity, honour, gratitude or the like, then one cannot tell what to say ; but let her practice speak for itself, her broken vows, her violated alliances, her behaviour to her old friends at home, her conduct to her good allies abroad, and the returns she made to her native country for an immense treasure of money and blood, spent for the vindication of her title and the security of her life. She would speak in public of her zeal for the Protestant succession, and once she surprised the nation with the news of a particular friendship between herself and the House of Hanover ; but God knows what she meant, unless it was to delude the ignorant and unsuspicious part of her people ; for as for heart, there was proof enough in due time that that was engaged at another Court : there was little of it left for that House ; and it came to be accounted an affront to herself to name it in addresses to the throne. In most cases she was insensible of what related to the public, and could with great coldness and tranquillity let an express that was known to come

with very important good news lie unopened for half an hour, though she was alone and had nothing in the world to do, whilst all about her were waiting with the utmost impatience to know the contents of it.

She loved fawning and adoration and hated plain dealing, even in the most important cases. She had a soul that nothing could so effectually move as flattery or fear. A sudden surprise, in an unguarded moment, would make the truth sometimes discover itself in her look or in some unlucky word ; but if she had time and warning enough to learn her lesson, all the arguments and reason in the world could extort nothing from her that she had not a mind to acknowledge. In such cases she seemed to have the insensibility of a rock, and would resolutely dissemble or disown anything in the world, and by repeating one single answer in the same words, could tire out the patience and elude all such enquiries as were disagreeable to herself.

She had no native generosity of temper, nor was often known of herself to do a handsome action, either as a reward or as a piece of friendship. The diligence and faithfulness of a servant signified but little with her, where she had no passion for the person. Nor did she hardly ever think either of rewarding any because they were deserving, or of easing any because they were miserable, till such things were urged upon her by those whom she loved. And even to such as

she professed to love, her presents were very few, and generally very insignificant, as fruit or venison or the like, unless in cases where she was directed by precedents in the former reigns.

In a word, she had little zeal for the happiness of others, but a selfishness that was great enough to make every other consideration yield to it. She was headstrong and positive in matters of the utmost importance, and at last preferred her own humour and passion before the safety and happiness of her own people and of all Europe, which she had either not sense enough to see, or not goodness enough to regard. Whether her memory will be celebrated by posterity with blessings or curses, time will show.

Lord Godolphin had conducted the Queen with the care and tenderness of a father or a guardian through a state of helpless ignorance, and had faithfully served her in all her difficulties before she was Queen, as well as greatly contributed to the glories she had to boast of after she was so. But there was no sense left now of such matters, nor any memory of those past services which she had used to think invaluable, a long series of services perhaps the most disinterested that were ever performed by any Prime Minister to any prince upon earth.

He was a man of few words, but of a remarkable thoughtfulness and sedateness of temper ; of great application to business, and of such despatch in it as to give pleasure to those who attended him upon

any affair ; of wonderful frugality in the public concerns but of no great carefulness about his own. He affected being useful without popularity ; and the inconsiderable sum of money, above his paternal estate, which he left at his death, showed that he had been indeed the nation's treasurer and not his own, and effectually confuted the vile calumnies of his enemies and successors.

Lord Chancellor Cowper's resignation was received by the Queen with a great seeming reluctance ; but he was too wise not to be sensible that all this concern was only upon politic reasons, for the present, and would vanish as soon as his successor should be ready for the post, and the terms fixed upon which he was to come into it.

The Duke of Marlborough's friend, Mr de Cardonnell, was removed from being Secretary at War, and Mr Granville put in his place, one perfectly unskilled in the business, and a known Jacobite ; but a flatterer of the new great man at Court, as well as an enemy to the Duke, which, to be sure, was thought on both to disturb the Duke's mind and the progress of affairs in which he was at this time engaged abroad.

These two were the chief agents in all that followed. But under them were several to whose different passions, tempers and capacities Mr Harley (who knew as much as anyone living of the secret of managing the corruptions of human

nature) had very soon applied with good success all proper weights and motives.

The Duchess of Somerset was near the Queen's person ; she had her ear whenever she pleased ; she was soft and complaisant, full of fine words and low curtseys ; and could by art and insinuation (seemingly unaffected and free from malice or passion) make all such disadvantageous impressions sink the deeper into her mistress's heart.

What she had fixed her eyes and her wishes upon was the office of Groom of the Stole, as yet possessed by the Duchess of Marlborough ; but she covered the impertinence of her expectation and ambition within with the outward guise of lowliness and good-humour. And being assured that when the change was made, she should be Groom of the Stole, this made her Grace very industrious in doing all manner of mischief, but at the same time she acted her part so well that she would solemnly lament the misunderstandings between the Queen and the Duchess of Marlborough, whom she did her utmost to undermine, though in the beginning of the Queen's reign, she had made her a Lady of the Bedchamber after she had refused it and after the number was filled up. And when a certain great man had resolved to have the Duke of Somerset removed from being Master of the Horse, as he affirmed, for telling the secrets of the Cabinet Council, the Duchess of Marlborough gave the Duchess of Somerset timely notice of it and prevented the blow. The

Duke of Somerset was out of humour, I don't remember for what, and left the Court. But the Duchess stayed behind him, and enjoyed not only the post for which she had ignominiously sacrificed her truth and honour, but also with it a degree of royal favour, which these new ministers presently began to envy and to be jealous of. This was plain from the lampoons their agents published against her at first, though they thought afterwards to let her remain in quiet, finding that her fawning, submissive, flattering way of conversation had gained too great an ascendant over the Queen for them to venture the experiment of making her so soon uneasy again.

I cannot forget here that this great lady managed her ambition so cunningly, that she contrived not to be at Court when the Duchess of Marlborough was to be dismissed, that it might seem to those who could see no farther than the outside of things as if she had neither any hand nor any view in that matter ; and as if she had no aim at the office of Groom of the Stole, but was sought after for it without any inclination of her own. She had her end at length, but it was dearly purchased at the price of so much artifice and meanness of soul. And it seems it was a post that could move the ambition of more than one. For besides that it might be concluded, from the abuse the Duchess of Somerset presently met with, that Mrs Masham herself had an eye upon it and was making her way to it by

due degrees, it is certain that there were three other ladies, viz., the Duchess of Ormond, the Lady Rochester (then Lady Hyde), and Lady Fretcheville, who were all vain enough to set their thoughts upon it, and were ungrateful enough to do all ill offices to one to whom they had frequently acknowledged under their own hands very great obligations, in order to obtain it.

The Duchess of Ormond had none of the qualifications either of a good woman or an agreeable friend. But the Duchess of Marlborough was touched with her misfortunes, and brought her into the Queen's Bedchamber with very great difficulty; because the Ladies of the Bedchamber were already fixed upon. And this she did, because the Duchess requested it of her; and represented to her how hard her case was then, that this honour would give her a great advantage among her Lord's family, who used her very ill, and would be an inducement to her Lord himself to treat her more kindly than he did. The Duchess of Marlborough thought it a very pitiable case, and persuaded the Queen to put her in the room of another Lady. Yet all this was forgot. That Duchess employed her small talents in the common work of calumny, when the season came, and descended to so low a degree of courtship to the new favourite as to think herself happy if she could but have the honour (which she frequently had) to carry with her in her coach Mrs Masham's child and nurse airing

at Datchet Ferry. Whilst the mother was so morose and peevish that she would not vouchsafe herself to keep her Grace company. So mean and servile a thing is pride itself, and so low could this great lady stoop for her own poor ends; who was even remarkable for a height of temper, and particularly for the ridiculous vanity of boasting that she came from the blood of the Plantagenets, though, if it were so, all agreed it must have been from some bastard of that blood.

As for Lady Rochester, she had heretofore almost broke her heart with the strong desire she had of being Lady of the Bedchamber, and the Duchess of Marlborough had pitied her uneasiness so far as to obtain this favour for her. In return for which, after the highest professions of esteem and friendship, she likewise lent a helping hand to the good work of defaming and removing her benefactress. But she was of too little credit and of too little consequence to obtain what she aimed at by so vile a proceeding. The last of the three, Lady Fretcheville, was likewise brought to Court at first by the Duchess of Marlborough. And not only this, but after the Princess was Queen, the Duchess by her solicitation obtained for her a more considerable thing than ever she obtained for any other person, and at a time when the Queen very much despised her. The return she made was not only to pay all degrees of courtship to the Duchess's greatest enemy, Mrs Masham, but to spread with a malicious zeal all

manner of the greatest falsehoods about her. In which laudable work this good lady had always shown a very peculiar talent and acquired an established reputation. But none of these three could, either by their fawnings or their flatteries or their calumnies, obtain the great end they now aimed at.

Another great man who was immediately engaged in this new scheme was the Duke of Shrewsbury, a man of a very different character from the rest in this scheme, with respect to his abilities and a sort of an appearance of wisdom. He had been abroad at Rome for many years, and brought over with him at his return a very old woman for his wife, an Italian Papist, who had upon this marriage professed herself a Protestant. Her ambition, to be sure, rose upon such a marriage, and his covetousness, which was the prevailing bias in his constitution and had increased upon him with years, made him now capable of receiving offers to his advantage with readiness enough. He had great obligations to Lords Marlborough and Godolphin, and either had no uneasiness with them, or else had the art to hide it perfectly well. At the beginning of the Queen's reign those two Lords kept vacant for some time the post of Master of the Horse, and made him the offer of it more than once, inviting him home that he should bear a part in the administration. But whether he did not think it advisable to embark with them till he

saw what turn the affairs of a new Court would take, or whatever else was the reason, he then excused himself either from want of health or some other frivolous pretence, and so that post was disposed of to the Duke of Somerset. Indeed the Duchess of Marlborough had another reason given her at that time by Mr Berkeley, who assured her he had often heard it from the Duke's own mother, that her son had reconciled himself to the Church of Rome. But this made little impression upon one who could not at that time think so ill of him. His letters to the Duke of Marlborough, not only before but since he came home, were full of the highest regard and esteem and the greatest friendship.

I knew the time since his return to England, when he esteemed his proxy in the Duke's hands much more sure to vote for the public good than if he were present himself to give his vote, and declared that if anything could give him a tolerable opinion of his own judgment in public affairs, it would be the reflection that in many Parliaments he had had the honour to sit with his Grace, he could not recollect that they had ever differed. But now the opportunity was irresistible ; and nothing within of love was enough, against the pressure of so great a temptation, though he had received no sort of provocation, either real or pretended, from the ministry to give any alleviation to his guilt. For the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin

had lived particularly well with him and his Roman Duchess ever since his return. Nay, those two Lords had regarded him to so great a degree that they were hardly easy without putting him into some considerable post. But those with whom they were now engaged thought that his long stay at Rome and his strange marriage there gave them good reason to be jealous of him, till he had been tried for some time whether he still adhered to the principles of that Revolution, in which he had borne a considerable part. Those Lords had endeavoured very heartily to overcome that difficulty, and the Duke seemed perfectly satisfied with their conduct towards him. There was but one thing which he could possibly resent. His Duchess, who had a foreign assurance to ask as well as to say anything, though never so improper, took upon her to solicit that her Lord might have a pension. But considering his estate and that he had no family, this was thought highly unreasonable and so was not granted.

Without doubt he had cunning enough in a very little time to discover that the Queen's inclinations began to be very much altered towards the Marlborough family ; as well as to see in what channel it was likely to run for the future ; and art enough to improve his observations to his own advantage. But it looked as if he were resolved to search that matter to the bottom before he thoroughly embarked in the designs of their enemies. This seemed to be the only intent of a

particular visit he made to the Duchess of Marlborough in the beginning of the winter of 1709, in which he put on the guise of the greatest value and friendship for her ; filling his conversation with the words respect and veneration and the like, but particularly entering into much discourse about the misunderstanding between the Queen and her. He spoke with great concern about it ; and at length asked her if it were possible for her to recover the favour she seemed to have lost, and to be reconciled to the Queen ? The Duchess, in her usual way, too open and too sincere for such politicians, frankly told him that she looked upon it as absolutely impossible, considering the interest Mrs Masham had with the Queen, and the management of another behind the curtain. She said she often remembered those verses of Dryden's :—

> "Forgiveness to the injured doth belong,
> They never pardon, who have done the wrong."

That for her part she knew she had done no wrong, unless a faithful and hearty service, with the utmost plain dealing, were a wrong, and that Queens are never suffered to think they do wrong; and that upon these accounts she looked upon that matter to be past retrieve, and the wound given to their friendship too deep ever to be healed up. The Duke with an air of friendship pretended to wonder that the Queen could not be brought to a sense of her unkindness, and heartily

condemned the usage the Duchess had met with. Adding that Mrs Masham had undertaken a work which he believed she could never go through with, and that the Queen would never be in so good hands as those of the Duchess, with a great appearance of approving all that she had been saying in her own vindication. But yet after this he, who used before to come twice a week, never came more to see her Grace. He did not indeed after this enter into the railing part, but still kept up the decorum of speaking well and civilly of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin. Yet his Duchess made court visibly to Mrs Masham, and ran in with the popular cry of censuring and railing at the Duchess of Marlborough, as the most grateful topic at Court in this critical juncture. In the midst of which she would sometimes in proper places run out into themes of high civility and compliment, which were known too well to be such as the Duke had taught her, in order to hide the part they both were acting. This woman was big with the expectation of being one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber, when the desired alteration could be brought about ; and with that view humbled herself to the lowest degree of fawning and flattery, even in too gross and nauseous a manner to succeed. For there were those about the Queen who could not bear it, and so in that particular disappointed her ambition and her Lord's covetousness. The Duke however pur-

sued his point ; and from the time of that last conversation with the Duchess of Marlborough, it was very evident that his views and his expectations were turned from his old friends. He had indeed run through a course of the warmest professions of zeal and friendship for the ministers. But now all his good sense was not enough to hinder him from joining himself in the basest manner to the counsels of their vilest enemies for their destruction.

This Duke was one of the principal persons who was immediately brought in, to forward that change which was afterwards brought about. He had acquired a sort of reputation for wisdom, which added a weight and reputation to their proceedings. It is hardly worth while to mention two other Lords who, being discontented that favours and rewards were not heaped upon them by the ministry, became mere tools to promote the designs of their enemies. The one was Lord Rivers, a man scandalous and vile in his character to a very low degree, of no better reputation than a common cheat or pickpocket ; having robbed his own father, and gone under the name of Tyburn Dick for many years. The other was Lord Peterborough, a man who to the same vileness of soul had joined a sort of knight-errantry, that made up a very odd sort of composition. One who had wasted his fortune and worn out his credit, and had nothing left but so much resolution and so little honour as made him

capable of anything they had to put upon him.

Besides the assistance of these and others about the Court, one great piece of art was to spread the vilest calumnies and falsest stories of those who were to be attacked, all over the nation. For which purpose some under-workmen of prostituted consciences and hardened faces were necessary. They were not long seeking for such, when once the power of rewarding was seen to be in their hands, or to be certainly coming to them. The Rev. Mr Swift and Mr Prior quickly offered themselves to sale (besides a number of more ordinary scribblers) ; both men of wit and parts ready to prostitute all they had in the service of well-rewarded scandal, being both of a composition past the weakness of blushing or of stumbling at anything for the interest of their new masters. The former of these had long ago turned all religion into a Tale of a Tub, and sold it for a jest. But he had taken it ill that the ministry had not promoted him in the Church for the great zeal he had shown for religion by his profane drollery ; and so carried his atheism and his humour into the service of their enemies. They were now raising a great outcry against the profaneness and deism and the like. And one of the first of their tools to be encouraged and promoted was a lewd libertine and an open ridiculer of all inspiration. The other, Mr Prior, was quickly taken off from writing by other business they

had for him in France. But it was thought, with good reason, that he wrote some of those vile *Examiners* in which the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough were so beyond all measure and all example abused. Nay, before this, the Duchess thought she had good reason to think him the author of a vile libel against herself. And notwithstanding all his submissions and all his protestations (of which he was very free) she continued still to think so.

In 1709 he wrote to the Duke, assuring him that he placed the welfare of his life in the assurance he had that he continued still in his Grace's favour; begging either to be restored to the place he once had, or to be sent to Florence, or to be disposed of as his Grace should see fit; entreating that he might have leave to throw himself at the Duchess's feet, with the most solemn protestation (as his own words were) averring that he had ever esteemed her as one of the best of women and would justify that esteem with his life.

In the same letter, speaking of the loss of his office, he had these words :—"Fare it well, I still subsist, God Almighty bless your goodness and bounty for it," and to the same purpose in other letters. The Duke indeed had so particularly regarded him as to procure him a pension of £500 a year, after he was removed from being one of the commissioners for trade; and he had made more submissive court to the Duke and

Duchess than almost any other. But when their enemies opened the scene, he immediately joined them, and made the vilest returns to him to whom he had long owed his very subsistence. But it is enough to say that the first part of his education was in a tavern, and that he had a soul as low as his education, incapable of anything truly great or honourable.

These, and such like under them, were by lampoons and libels to disperse all possible scandal throughout the nation about a ministry which had raised the Queen's glory to a height unknown to any of her predecessors. They were to add to this a hideous outcry about the danger of the Church, the increase of profaneness, the encouragement of infidelity, the growth of republican and antimonarchical principles and God knows what. Anything in short that might raise a ferment where it was not or increase it where it was. And all this to add a reputation and popularity to what the grand master of the whole machine was now bringing to a head at Court, where he found himself by this time possessed both of the Queen's ear and heart, as much as he could wish.

He had now waited as long as his own private affairs could possibly permit. All things were ripe. The Queen thoroughly alienated from her old servants and ready to receive any impression against them. Mrs Masham the great and supreme favourite, and Mr Harley himself admitted into

consultation. All manner of open railing against the ministry encouraged; the continuance of a heavy and expensive war abroad and everything bad at home laid to their charge. A notion universally prevailed of the Queen's own uneasiness at their proceedings, and a dissatisfaction scattered throughout the nation by these means. The stroke to be sure could not have been long deferred; and without doubt resolutions had been taken in the private consultations at Court to put an end to the poor Queen's uneasy condition, as well as the Church's imaginary danger. But there was an accident, very lucky for them, which determined them to the precise time of doing this, and gave them still greater advantages than they could have well hoped for.

The ministry, finding themselves perpetually abused from the pulpits as well as the press, resolved to attempt to put some stop to such insolence by the impeachment and trial of Dr Henry Sacheverell, for vilely abusing the late Revolution and the glorious instrument of it; for insulting the administration, endeavouring to destroy the toleration, and proclaiming the danger of the Church, to alarm the people against their governors. All this was owned to be the design of the sermon for which he was impeached, both by his friends and by his enemies, and boasted of by the former and by himself before the trial; as he himself was rewarded for the attack in due time after it. The delay of the trial, and the un-

reasonable and pompous preparation for it, gave time enough to the new projectors to send about all their tools to raise hideous outcries, as if both Church and State were now attacked, and to scatter the notion, which did most mischief, of the Queen's own uneasiness and the like.

The poison spread itself incredibly. It was no very difficult matter for such dextrous masters of mischief, with the help of all discontented Tories, Jacobites, Papists and indigent under-workmen, to put the nation into a very terrible ferment.

Of the man himself no more need be said than that he had not one good quality that any man of sense ever valued him for. He once professed himself a great Whig. But King William dying, he thought best to change with the torrent. It must be owned that a person more fitted for a tool could not have been picked out of the whole nation. For he had not learning enough to write or speak true English (as all his own compositions witness), but a heap of bombast, ill-connected words at command, which do excellently well with such as he was to move. He had so little sense as even to design and effect that popularity, which now became his portion and which a wise and good man knows not how to bear with. He had a haughty insolent air, which his friends found occasion often to complain of ; but it made his presence more graceful in public.

His person was framed well for the purpose and he dressed well. A good assurance, clean gloves,

white handkerchiefs well managed, with other suitable accomplishments, moved the hearts of many at his appearance, and the solemnity of his trial added much to a pity and concern which had nothing in reason or justice to support them. The weaker part of the ladies were more like mad or bewitched than like persons in their senses.

At length, by the help of proper officers and tools, great mobs and tumults were raised, to whose outrages and violence nothing more conduced than a prevailing opinion, artfully spread amongst them, that one above was herself on the side of these disorders. Here then was a machine for the great projector to move, and it was so dextrously moved that the whole nation was moved with it.

Several eminent clergymen, who despised the man in their hearts, were engaged to stand publicly by him in the face of the world, as if the poor Church of England were now tried in him. A speech exquisitely contrived to move pity was put into his mouth, full of an impious piety, denying the greatest part of the charge (which the man had been known to boast of before), with solemn appeals to God, and such applications of Scripture as would make any serious person tremble. Everyone immediately guessed the real author of it from the manner of using Scripture so profanely, and from the frequent calling of God to witness to what was known to be false. And perhaps there was but one man in England

capable of making such a speech. And but one proud man of lowness of soul enough to descend to speak it. This speech was ready printed, contrary to all rule and decency, dispersed over the nation by itself, and had a great part in heightening our disorders. The sentence passed upon him could have been no punishment to any man, but one who was full of his own excellences, and never thought himself so great as in a pulpit.

Everybody knows that he was afterwards sent about several counties; where with his usual grace he received as his due the homage and adoration of multitudes; never thinking that respect enough was paid to his great merit, using some of his friends insolently, and raising mobs against his enemies, and giving ample proof of how great meanness the bulk of mankind is capable; putting on the air of a saint upon a lewd, drunken, pampered man, dispensing his blessings to all his worshippers and his kisses to some; taking their good money as fast as it could be brought in, drinking their best wines, eating of their best provisions, without reserve and without temperance. And, what completed the farce, complaining in the midst of this scene of luxury and triumph, as the old fat monks did over a hot venison pasty, in his barbarous Latin, "Heu quanta patimus pro Ecclesia." Oh, what dreadful things do we undergo for the sake of the poor Church!

This engine proving so fortunate and the nation

being now raised to a violent heat of mad passion for the Church and Crown, there was no longer any doubt of giving the finishing stroke to the designs which had been long in agitation.

In this account, which is all the historian's, he has not shown any tenderness for Queen Anne, and it will be very difficult to reconcile the character he has given her with that I have given her on the statue at Blenheim, and therefore I will say what I can in justification of both, in case this history or any part of it should be printed after I am dead.

A historian, if he writes at all, ought to write the facts, or he should not pretend to give an account of them to posterity. All he relates is exactly the truth, and the inscription I have put on the pedestal was likewise true. But as I had great obligations to the Queen, I thought it unbecoming in me to relate anything to her disadvantage, whatever the annals of those times would make appear, that I could not help. For everybody must know what she said from the throne, the insincere assurances she gave her allies, and the treatment in discharging those faithful servants of whom she had more than twenty years' experience ; and at last how, by the advice of my Lord Oxford, she was brought to throw away all the successes she had gained in the wars, at a time when she was so very near ruining the power of France as never to leave it able to impose anything to the disadvantage of

England. But notwithstanding all these wonderful things, brought about by a low chambermaid, by the direction of cunning men that wanted to come into great places and power themselves, they certainly laid the foundation of all the mischiefs Sir Robert Walpole has so near completed in 1740, who, I really believe, did not at first design to put England into any danger from France. But to support his own power and wealth, he has from one step to another so far ruined this country that it is not likely that it should escape from slavery from one side or the other.

Now I must explain what I mean to reconcile, as far as I can, the different characters of Queen Anne. She certainly, as is said on the inscription, meant well and was not a fool ; but nobody can maintain that she was wise nor entertaining in conversation. She was in everything what I described her ; ignorant in everything but what the parsons had taught her when a child ; and she never failed in performing exactly the rules given her by them with great sincerity, for she was not in anything of that sort a hypocrite. But their directions was not the most material part of religion. She was naturally fond of the Church and the clergy, and at the beginning of her kindness to me, she would have started at anybody's persuading her to profess a falsehood or to have done anything plainly wrong. But when she came to be flattered by her new counsellors, who

never told her but one thing at a time she was to do; and no doubt, if she had any scruple in complying with them, they frightened her by making her think it was absolutely necessary to be done to preserve her crown and even her life; for otherwise she would have the same usage from the Whigs that her grandfather King Charles the First had from such sort of people; and her own natural inclination being to be fond of the Tories;—being very ignorant, very fearful, with very little judgment, it is easy to be seen she might mean well, being surrounded with so many artful people, who at last compassed their designs to her dishonour. For though she never said, that I know of, a simple thing of herself, if she happened to like anybody, she had such a diffidence of herself that she would always yield to the persuasion of those she liked, even though they had still less judgment than herself. She certainly was as decent in her behaviour as I have formerly represented her till the latter end of her reign, when a very brutal woman got into her favour. She was not extravagant in any of her expenses, which is a very good thing for subjects, because whatever princes do, which is called generosity, the subjects feel it, because it is generally very foolishly applied.

Now I will give an account of the character of those Whigs I was acquainted with, which the historian makes no mention of, nor of King William and Queen Mary, only where he could

not avoid it ; and he was very partial to the Whigs, being one himself.

I have given a true account of King William and Queen Mary in my letter to Mrs Burnet, which makes it unnecessary to repeat it again. But I will say something of the behaviour of the Whigs, which from my own knowledge is the truth.

My Lord Somers could not have supported so long to have been the head of the party, if he had not had good talents. But there was one thing that appeared to be a great blemish to a Lord Chancellor, that he lived as publicly with another man's wife as if she had been his own. The first thing that raised his reputation to so great a height was being counsel to the seven bishops King James committed to the Tower. King William made him Lord Chancellor ; and I have heard, but do not know the truth of that myself, that he got as much money as he could in that post and some grants not becoming a Chancellor to have.

When Queen Anne came to the crown, he was at the head of the Whigs, and all the favour was shown to the Tories, whose principles I did not like ; and I really had no partiality to Whig or Tory, but thought the principles the Whigs professed the best for England. And I solemnly protest that when I thought nothing could possibly happen to lessen the Queen's favour to me, I would have lived upon my father's estate at Sandridge rather than have given my vote to have

made her arbitrary. The Whigs were very uneasy at having no power when the Queen came to the crown, and at last the Tories from their violence and folly made it impossible for my Lords Marlborough and Godolphin to support the crown upon the Queen's head and the laws of their country without encouraging the Whigs to get their assistance against the Tories. My Lord Somers was the chief of the Whigs, but there was no possibility to introduce him till towards the latter end of Lords Marlborough and Godolphin's interest with the Queen ; and they were contented with changes, in bringing in some Whigs not so obnoxious to the Queen as Lord Somers, of whom I shall say more presently.

For my Lord Cowper, I continually laboured with the Queen to make him Keeper, to save the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin from an application so disagreeable to her ; and at last by a great deal of drudgery I succeeded. Upon which my Lord Halifax came to me from my Lord Cowper, to desire I would appoint a time for him to make his acknowledgments to me. I answered:—Upon condition that he would not say anything upon that subject, for I would not be thanked for anything I had done in contributing to bring so valuable a man into that post, which must prove a great advantage to the nation, by displacing Wright, who was so unfit for the post. Upon these articles Lord Cowper came to me, and told me he must perform what

I had enjoined, and though I would not allow him to speak, I could not hinder him from thinking. And I must do him the justice to say that all the time I was at Court, and after I was removed, no man could possibly behave better to me than he did, not only as a gentleman but as a friend, and as if he had been my own brother. My Lord Somers had the reverse of that behaviour, for though he courted me a great while in order to get Whigs into employment, visiting me, and if I met him in the streets or on the road by chance, he would stand up as if I had been the Queen, yet after I had teased the Queen to bring him into a great post, I think it was Lord President, he never made me but one single visit, though I never had one dispute or quarrel with him, nor took any more notice of me after I was out of my employments than if he had never heard of me ; nor of the Duke of Marlborough, after he was put out of the army, of which the historian has given a very exact account. But he soon found, after he had been at Court, that Mrs Masham would get the better, and therefore wisely thought it better to make his application to her and her friends. And as long as Lords Marlborough and Godolphin continued ministers, contrary to Sir Robert's method, for they never did anything considerable without consulting the chief of their friends, whatever was to be moved contrary to the Queen's temper, he always put that task on Lords Marlborough and Godolphin

to propose it, which it is probable he might cover with his pretended modesty, that they were most proper of whose services she had so long an experience. But at last I discovered, by a man of undoubted truth and honour, that Lords Bolingbroke and Oxford, before the Queen had publicly made them her ministers, had diverted themselves much with a scheme to make the Queen flatter Lord Somers and seem fond of him in order to make Lords Marlborough and Godolphin jealous.

That plot had not its effect so soon as it ought to have had, but Lord Somers was extremely pleased with the Queen's favour and attended her very often alone. Her Majesty acted her part very well, as she could anything given her by those she liked, and I really believe from all his proceedings that he thought, if he could get rid of the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, by the Queen's favour he should compass being Premier minister. I remember to have been at several of their consultations, to fill out their tea and wash their cups ; and he was the chief man in promoting the union with Scotland. One argument was that it would shut up the door to let the Pretender in. And no man in all the debates was so pressing as himself to have Dr Sacheverell tried ; and one of his arguments for that was that, if they did not do it, the Queen would be preached out of the throne and the nation ruined. Notwithstanding which, when the Queen by her new counsellors had a mind to save Dr Sacheverell,

she prevailed with Lord Somers not to go to the finishing his trial ; and the reason he gave for not doing it was because his mother, he said, was dead. And he was so exact that, though he could not bring her to life again, out of great decency he could not appear in public. I do not imagine that reason passed on anybody, but he was disappointed ; for when the play was finished, and Lord Rochester, Sir Edward Seymour and such as they were put into the Council, to be sure they would not suffer Lord Somers to sit with them ; and if they would, it was impossible for him to stay when all his friends were put out or had quitted. But I know, after the game was up, a Bedchamber-woman that was very honest assured me that he came often privately to wait on the Queen at Kensington, after his party was destroyed, which convinced me that he had hopes by some accident or other to obtain the Queen's favour ; and perhaps he might have some pension from her ; but that I cannot be sure of, because if he had it, it is most probable it was paid by Mrs Masham.

I will now give an account of what I knew of my Lord Halifax, who a long time was a great Whig. He was of a family, but as a younger brother, he had but £50 a year, with which he could make no great figure. The first thing he was cried up for was something from whence he was called Mouse Montagu. I do not know any other way to describe it. But it was extremely

liked, and I think it was written in King James's reign or the latter end of King Charles's. I do not know by whose means, but he got into the Treasury, and Lord Godolphin raised his fortune. He read extremely agreeably, and having a good deal of that business to do, my Lord Godolphin was pleased with him. I believe he had some talents, particularly a great knack at making pretty ballads. But my Lords Marlborough and Godolphin used to say the same thing of him as they did of Mr Walpole ; that they were both useful, but neither of them had any judgment. Lord Halifax had a vast deal of vanity and as much covetousness. For I have seen several letters of his, in which he was always soliciting to get more money than he ought to have had. He loved dedications and everything of that sort. I remember one thing more, extremely wretched or rather mean.

He sent me once a book written by one of his people, upon the subject that he knew I liked, and he told me the author was very honest but poor, upon which I gave him £100. And I am very sure if he gave this writer anything, it was from himself, without letting him know it was from me. He was a very active Whig till the times changed ; but when Lord Oxford got the better, though he continued to meet his friends at all their consultations, he betrayed them. I remember Lord Cowper was very angry with him. They had taken a resolution to do something in

Parliament that would have disconcerted Lord Oxford's designs very much. I do not remember it so particularly as to relate it, but it was of so much consequence to keep it secret that all those great men made a solemn protestation not to mention this resolution to anybody. Notwithstanding which my Lord Halifax told it to my Lord Oxford, which disappointed the designs his friends had taken. They were all shocked at it ; but when they reproached Lord Halifax with having done it, he said with a great deal of insolence, that he had done it for the best, and would have turned it off with a jest, that if they did not like it, they might fight their next battles themselves. There never was a falser man than Lord Halifax was.

I will now relate one remarkable instance of it. Before my Lord Shrewsbury went to Rome, he had a great friendship with him ; but when he returned to England, he apprehended that he would come into some great employment from the great inclination and esteem the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin had for him, and therefore told them that the Duke of Shrewsbury was a very agreeable man ; but as they knew he had quitted King William's service out of fear that the government would not hold, and was certainly reconciled to the Pretender by his Roman Catholic relations, the Whigs could not bear that he should fill any great post, when they had borne all the heat and burden in support of

the Revolution. There was some reason and truth in this; but to show what a thorough wretch he was, at the end of the Whig ministry, when the Duke of Shrewsbury came thoroughly into the Tories and voted with them in everything, my Lord Halifax renewed his friendship with the Duke of Shrewsbury, and served them in everything he could, contrary to his professions even at that time to his party.

It was plain to everybody that he was made use of to do mischief in the city for the advantage and to forward the designs of the Tories. And it is certain that in a cunning way he did a great deal of mischief to his own party, when he saw it going, and as he had been a Lord of the Treasury, he had great interest in the city, and used to make great entertainments, but always for some good purpose, and they were extremely well performed. This got him a great many friends, even among the ladies. But this was purely out of interest and vanity, for he was so great a manager that, when he dined alone, I know he ate upon pewter, for fear of lessening the value of his plate by cleaning it often. He was a frightful figure, and yet pretended to be a lover, and followed several beauties who laughed at him for it.

Notwithstanding this character of him, which is all true, he was thought so necessary by the Whig party that when King George the First came into England and things were settled, they made him an Earl, gave him the blue ribbon,

made him first commissioner of the Treasury, and allowed his nephew, Mr Montague, to be auditor of the Exchequer, who was his heir ; and that place is chiefly designed to be a check upon the Treasury. This was a good precedent for Sir Robert Walpole, who gave his son the same post. But to give a farther instance of his love for money, my Lady Scarborough, who was a very worthy woman, told me in confidence that though Mr Montague, her son-in-law, had but a small estate, he allowed him to take out of that vast employment but £500 a year, and had the rest himself. To finish this character, I must repeat what is more extraordinary than any I have yet said. My Lord Halifax and the rest of the great men dined with me at Marlborough House the same day they had done these great things for him. He hardly spoke a word the whole dinner time, looked full of rage, and as if he could have killed everybody at table ; and the reason of that behaviour was that they did not give him the white staff, instead of making him the first commissioner of the Treasury. I shall only add to this description of him that he was as renowned for ill-breeding as Sir Robert Walpole is. Of all my Whig friends and professors, when I had interest with the Queen, except Lord Cowper, whom I have given a just character of, I cannot recollect anyone who did not treat me in an infamous manner, and except Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Sir Nathaniel Gould and my Lord Orford,

they railed at me everywhere, and said that I had ruined them, and were as violent as the Tories had been, who had some reason, for I was against them. But I never deceived them, though I could not be of their opinion. The first I have mentioned, Sir Gilbert, was always the same to me as when I was a favourite ; wrote to me when I was in exile ; and Sir Nathaniel Gould and he continued my friends till their death. And after the Duke of Marlborough was dead, which was very polite in men of business, they hired a coach and came to visit me at Windsor Lodge, when I was in affliction. This was after the Hanover family were in England, when both Whigs and Tories railed at me. My Lord Orford was certainly a man of honour and truth, for though I had known him a great many years, we being both servants to the Duke and Duchess of York, I had no intimacy with him afterwards. But as he was a considerable man with the great men at that time, several of them brought him to me at Marlborough House, to persuade me to be friends with one that had done very ill in former times ; but as they were politicians, they had a great mind to please this person in doing what he desired so much. But I could not be convinced by any of their arguments that it was of any use for me at that time to comply with them. I said, it was of no consequence then, that I believed they judged right for themselves ; but as I had been very ill-used, I did not care

to be friends nor to have anything to do with such people. I observed that my Lord Orford hearkened to the arguments on both sides, but never said one word to persuade me, as the rest of the company had done. And it was plain to me that he looked as if he thought that I was in the right ; and as though he would have done as I did, had it been his own case. He had so much honour that he would not join with the company, though he came on purpose to do it. For I did not pretend to argue against their doing whatever they thought proper ; but as I was an insignificant woman, I thought I might be allowed to follow my own inclination, which was always to be sincere. In another book are a great many particulars, which the historian may like to look into ; but I have omitted there to relate something of Sir Robert Walpole, which shows that he betrayed the Duke of Marlborough, even at a time when he made the greatest professions to him.

When the Duke of Marlborough was made so uneasy at the latter end of the Queen's reign, by turning men of service out of the army to put in Mr Hill and Mr Masham over the heads of people improperly, Mr Walpole was employed to show the Queen how detrimental to her service such steps must be. He had many opportunities of doing it. The Duke of Marlborough having obtained of the Queen that Cardonnel should be Secretary of War, as a reward for his services,

when the war was ended, which he hoped would be soon, and the Queen having allowed Mr Cardonnel to kiss her hand upon that promise, but to let him go over with the Duke of Marlborough that campaign or another, if the war happened to be not concluded, Mr Walpole was so low then, that he executed this place for Mr Cardonnel, and attended the Duke of Marlborough when he was in England, with a bag of writings, like Mr Cardonnel. He managed it so as to make the Duke of Marlborough believe that he had done all he could with the Queen, and at the same time gained the points Mrs Masham had desired for her husband and brother; and I had incontestable proofs afterwards that Mr Walpole had acted this double part to oblige Mrs Masham; and the Duke of Marlborough at that time had no reason to believe he could be so false. Sir Robert had also a great obligation to me; for by my interest wholly he was made Treasurer of the Navy when Sir T. Lyttelton died, though there were solicitations from many people for that employment, whom they thought it of more consequence to oblige. But I prevailed, and he had then only had a small estate, and that much encumbered. And I have letters of acknowledgments to me, in which he says he is very sensible that he was entirely obliged to me for it. Notwithstanding which, at the beginning of his great power with the present family, he used me with all the folly and insolence upon every occasion as he has treated several,

since he has acted as if he were King, which would be too tedious to relate.

I am not sure that some account of this has not been given before. But if it has the truth is always the same. And it is no great matter, since what I write is only information to the historian to give characters. For being perpetually interrupted, it is impossible to remember what I may have formerly written upon these subjects.

Opinions of
Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough

Opinions of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough

THE PRINCESS AMELIA.

1737. Some people have a notion that the Princess Amelia will be employed by the minister to do everything with the King ; but I think she has not experience enough. And though with great reason his Majesty was influenced by the Queen, yet his Majesty, who has so great a capacity himself, can never be influenced much by a daughter of five and twenty.

1737. Princess Amelia is to perform the Queen's part in the drawing-room, but by all I have either seen or heard of her, I do not believe her behaviour will create many friends to the family.

QUEEN ANNE.

Queen Anne had a person and appearance very graceful, something of majesty in her look. She was religious without any affectation, and certainly meant to do everything that was just. She had no ambition ; which appeared by her being so easy in letting King William come before her to the crown, after the King her father had followed such counsels as made the nation see they could

not be safe in their religion and laws without coming to the extremities they did. And she thought it more for her honour to be easy in it, than to make a dispute who should have the crown first, that was taken from her father. And it was a great trouble to her to be forced to act such a part against him, even for security, which was truly the case ; and she thought those that showed the least ambition had the best character. Her journey to Nottingham was purely accidental, never concerted, but occasioned by the great fright she was in when the King returned from Salisbury, and said she should jump out at window rather than stay and see her father ; and upon that sent to the Bishop of London, to consult with others what she should do ; who came with the Earl of Dorset, and carried her into the city and from thence to Nottingham. She was never expensive, nor made any foolish buildings, nor bought one jewel in the whole time of her reign, but lived upon her £50,000 a year, till she was Queen. And there was a great balance at that time paid to Prince George of Denmark, which was his by right ; which Monsieur Place received for the Prince's use when she came to the crown.

She always paid the greatest respect imaginable to King William and Queen Mary, and never insisted upon any one thing of grandeur more than she had when her family was established by King Charles II ; though after the Revolution she was in the place of a Prince of Wales. The civil list

QUEEN ANNE

National Portrait Gallery.

[*face p. 274*

revenue was not increased on her having the crown ; and the late Earl of Godolphin, who was Treasurer, often said that from accidents in the customs and not straining things to hardships, the revenue did not come to, one year with another, more than £500,000 ; however, as it was found necessary to have a war, to secure England from the power of France, she contributed for the ease of the people £100,000 out of her own revenue to lessen the expense in one year ; and out of her civil list she paid a great many pensions given in former reigns, which have been since thrown upon the public ; and she gave the first fruits to be distributed among the poor clergy. She was extremely well-bred and treated her chief ladies and servants as if they had been her equals ; and she never refused to give charity, when there was the least reason for anybody to ask it ; and likewise paid the salaries of most of her sister's servants, notwithstanding the hardships she had suffered in King William's reign. And to show how good a manager she was for the public, till a very few years before she died, she never had but £20,000 a year for her privy purse, which was vastly less than any King or Queen ever had ; but at the latter end of her reign it was increased to £26,000, which was much to her honour, because that is subject to no account ; and, in comparison with other reigns, she was as saving in another office, that of the Robes ; for it will appear by all the records in the Exchequer, where the accounts

were passed, that in nine years she spent only £32,050, including the coronation expense.

I have put these facts together for materials for the person who writes the inscription.[1] They are all true, notwithstanding what she was imposed upon in doing at the end of her reign. I never flattered anybody living, and I cannot be suspected of it now the Queen is dead. But this character of the Queen is so much the reverse of Queen Caroline that I think it will not be liked at Court. And though I make no observations upon it, nobody can read it without reflecting upon the difference of the proceedings in Queen Anne's reign and the present.

DUKE OF ARGYLL.

1738. It is said the Duke of Argyll is extremely angry. It is a common saying that when a house is to fall the rats go away; but I doubt there is nothing of that in this case, and I rather think the anger must be to have some new demand satisfied, which is a thing his Grace has often done. Sir Robert is very free in his speeches, and before a great deal of company lately that dined with him, somebody took up the subject of the Duke of Argyll's being angry. Sir Robert had a mind to let it drop, but they would go on with it; and Sir Robert said that the Duke of Argyll and the

[1] On the statue of Queen Anne at Blenheim. Reprinted by Mrs. A. T. Thomson, vol. ii, p. 519.

King upon a war would always be angry, because they both had a mind to command the army, which was impossible for either of them to do.

1738. After all the great noise there was of the Duke of Argyll's being irreconcilably angry with Sir Robert, everything has passed since in the House without his saying the least word to show it ; that was no surprise to me.

1738-9. I think it is quite sure that the Duke of Argyll is determined and has thrown away the scabbard, and he uses to have a very quick sight when it was time to leave a minister. I am satisfied that the Duke of Argyll will do as he says, and that will do more good than any three men that I could name to take that part.

1738-9. The Duke of Argyll spoke charmingly, and has certainly thrown away the scabbard. And as he is strongly in the right and indefatigable, he will make a greater figure in this affair than any six men I could name together.

1738-9. I like the way the Duke of Argyll lately took, upon a very scurrilous paper being writ against him by one that was known to be a Court writer for a pension ; and it was intimated to the Duke that the author should be punished. But he answered very prettily that if they prosecuted him, he would come and defend him ; for the author had done what was right in saying what he was paid for, and they did him no hurt. All the hatred I once had to him upon a very just account is now turned to love. However as

he don't want money, I should be glad they would turn him out.

1740. The Duke of Argyll's last speech is, I think, very well drawn ; and I suppose the account of his behaviour for four years last past is as well as he could make it. But there must be a veil thrown over many things that he did. However, as he has no interest now but to act for the good of the public and has spirit and parts, I don't doubt but he will exert himself as much as he can.

1740-1. The Duke of Argyll spoke as well as it was possible for a man to do.

1741-2. The Duke of Argyll is to have all the places he was formerly possessed of. He has certainly had a great deal of merit in what has passed of late ; and I heartily wish he may act as well now as he has done.

QUEEN CAROLINE.

1737. The Queen in her illness desired leave to make a will, which she did ; gave no legacy to anyone but left all to his Majesty ; and it was so worded, as I am told, that it takes in all she had in England or in any banks in other countries. Her jewels are worth a great sum ; but all that belonged to Queen Anne, Queen Mary, etc., she could no more dispose of than of St James's or Hampton Court. There can be no doubt of her having a great sum of money, which it is not likely should ever be known ; and Mr Selwyn, one of her agents, has said since her death that she was in

debt £5000. If that were true, I cannot see what reason there was for her Majesty to do anything but to recommend her debts and her servants to the King.

1737. Our bishops are now about to employ hands to write the finest character that ever was heard of Queen Caroline ; who, as it is no treason, I freely own that I am glad she is dead. For to get money that has proved of no manner of use to her, and to support Sir Robert in all his arbitrary injustice, brought this nation upon the very brink of ruin, and has endangered the succession of her own family, by raising so high a dissatisfaction in the whole nation, as there is to them all, and by giving so much power to France, whenever they think fit to make use of it, who will have no mercy upon England.

1737. His Majesty thinks he has lost the greatest politician that ever was born, and one that did him the greatest service that was possible. Though everybody else that knows the truth must acknowledge that it was quite the contrary. For my own part it is demonstration to me that nothing could have put this nation and family in danger but the measures of the Queen and Sir Robert. To my knowledge most of the weeping ladies that went to the King have expressed the same opinion of the Queen formerly that I have described.

1737-8. Upon her great understanding and goodness there comes out nauseous panegyrics

every day that make one sick, so full of nonsense and lies, and there is one very remarkable from a Dr Clarke in order to have the first bishopric that falls, and I dare say he will have it, though there is something extremely ridiculous in the panegyric ; for after he has given her the most perfect character that ever any woman had or can have, he allows, that she had sacrificed her reputation to the great and the many to show her duty to the King and her love to her country. These are the clergyman's words exactly, which allows she did wrong things, but it was to please the King ; which is condemning him. I suppose he must mean some good she did to her own country, for I know of none she did in England, unless raking from the public deserves a panegyric.

1737-8. It seems to me as if her ghost did everything, by saying whatever is to be done was the Queen's opinion should be so ; and everything is compassed by that means by Sir Robert without any trouble at all ; but if —— should happen to have an opinion of any person that is living, perhaps they may get the better of the ghost.

DOGS.

1737. I am very fond of three dogs ; they have all of them gratitude, wit, and good sense ; things very rare to be found in this country. They are fond of going out with me ; but when

I reason with them and tell them it is not proper, they submit and watch for my coming home, and meet me with as much joy as if I had never given them good advice.

MY ENTAIL.

1738. I have made a settlement of a very great estate that is in my own power upon my grandson, John Spencer, and his sons ; but they are all to forfeit it if any of them shall ever accept any employment, military or civil, or any pension from any King or Queen of this realm, and the estate is to go to others in the entail. This I think ought to please everybody ; for it will secure my heirs in being very considerable men. None of them can put on a fool's coat, and take posts from soldiers of experience and service, who never did anything but kill pheasants and partridges. Their heirs may do great service to their country, and ought to be well received when they go to Court, since they will have nothing to ask ; for I would have them join with any King or minister when they desire nothing but what is for the good of the nation and the King, who in truth must always have the same interest. But if we should happen ever to have a Prince that would rump members for giving their vote for the true interest of their country, in that case a man with a great fortune may be very well contented to live at home, and keep much better company than I have known for many years at Court. Here is another

advantage in this to the ministers, for if they should happen to do anything that is good for the public, they will have the honour of it themselves ; and it cannot be imputed to the wisdom of the great men which they generally choose to put into great posts ; and yet I do fancy that they will not like anything of this sort ; but as the money they give to people comes from the public, they had rather give something to all their supporters than to have them independent, so as that nothing can tempt them to do anything but what is for the general good as well as their own ; for I really think there are but few attendants that are the better for employments, unless such as have no estates at all.

FOREBODINGS.

1737. Whenever France makes use of the power the ministers have given them, which I cannot but think they will do, perhaps very soon, I should be glad to give half my estate to secure the rest ; and it would be a very good bargain. But, alas ! that would not do ; for there is such a general dislike to the present government, both in England, Ireland and Scotland, that I believe people would be under great difficulties to determine which side to take. And except my family, which must suffer more than any other if France prevails, others that are less obnoxious, would not be able presently to determine which was the easiest servitude, France or Germany : and I

doubt the business would soon be determined, not as I wish against France. I don't wonder at anything the King or Queen does, because they know nothing of the truth. But I think Sir Robert must be under strange infatuation, who has so great a stake himself, and yet uses everybody ill that have been, and ever must be, sure friends to support the present government; and if he escapes the rage of the first disturbance, he cannot hope to support by weak men and corrupt beggars the going on against reason and law, and ruining so great a nation as England was. But I believe he will proceed to gratify all his passions; and perhaps he thinks that, as he is older than the King or Queen, he may die himself in power; which I wish he may, for the sake of my family, rather than that France should succeed. Though I think 'tis possible many may choose that servitude before another; but I cannot see how England can escape being slaves to somebody.

1737. I don't think anything good can happen unless by some accident that I cannot see into.

1737. We are in a great deal of danger from France; which is so plain that I am amazed that everybody who has a stake is not of the same opinion. But the love of a little present advantage blinds them and Sir Robert too; for certainly his stake is as considerable as most people's; though from the love of power it is plain he has ruined England. I suppose one of his reasons

for coming to such great extremities is that he cannot bear losing his power, and thinks it may hold longer than he can live, and that by his death all his ill-gotten treasure will go in course to his family. But I think he will be mistaken in that, and that there is a storm arising that will destroy irrevocably the liberties of England, whichever side prevails. It is impossible for anybody with common sense to believe that France won't endeavour to put one upon this throne that will be governed by them, as soon as they think it safe to attempt it. The Cardinal, who has certainly been a good minister to his own country, will naturally think it for his glory to restore King James's family to what they call their right, to establish his own religion in England, and to have a Prince here that will in all probability do everything they desire, instead of being at the expense of keeping them abroad. These are natural thoughts in a Cardinal, who has hitherto acted very wise and honestly for his own country, without putting it to any very extraordinary expense for himself. And I really think the game is very near up, and that when any attempt is made upon this nation, even those people who have contributed towards the ruin of it by their foolish compliance, will generally sit still ; and after so many forfeitures and executions will not care to appear on either side till they see which is likeliest to succeed, since it will be very hard for them to know by which side

they shall suffer least. When I talk in this way to some of my acquaintance, they answer they hope it won't be as I imagine and that, if France attempted us, it would unite everybody in England. Their hopes, without giving any reason for them, is nonsense, and so it is to imagine that everybody in such a case would unite.

1737. What I dread most is the power of France ; for they will have no mercy on us, and I fear have power to do what they please ; and the generality seem to have so much hatred and contempt for one family, that from that and Sir Robert's government God knows how soon this country may yet be made more miserable than it is. It is amazing to me that even the greatest knave and wretch upon earth will not act so as to save their estates, and some of them their places ; since anybody of sense enough to feed themselves must see things are brought to such extremity that if they don't act as if they were honest men, they can have neither estates nor places in a very little time.

1737. Till the scene opens, how can anybody be certain what the event will be between so many knaves and fools as are concerned ? There is but one thing certain, that the innocent and guilty will be all ruined in a short time by the power of France ; and if one could imagine that England could support themselves when there is so much disaffection to one place, I should not be very fond of any slavery ; but France I think is the

worst, because if that was settled, nothing can prevent it.

1737-8. When the King of France thinks it time to attack us with a certainty of succeeding, there may perhaps be some little opposition to that, but it won't be considerable or long. But all public funds will be stopped to everybody on account of the struggle there will be to save our last stake. And the conclusion will be, whichever side gets the better, that a thorough sponge will be made, and England and Scotland will be entire slaves, and under the direction of the worst men that can be got to have the government of both countries. I should be glad for the sake of a very few, who I believe are worthy, to find that I am in the wrong. I am extreme old, and there are so very few people that deserve a better fate than seems to threaten England, that I am really very little concerned what happens, since there are so very few that don't deserve to suffer for having betrayed their country by contributing to its ruin for places or a little money, which they did not want.

1737-8. Cardinal Fleury is a great deal more than fourscore ; and it is a sad thing to have nothing but his life to secure England from violent attempts ; if we could be sure, as I think we cannot, that a Cardinal would not be desirous to establish Popery in this country, under a dependency on France, when he finds it can be done without hazard, and I have a notion that it

is not far off; for I believe great part of the army are such men as will not be so successful in battle as they have been in their votes in Parliament.

1738. I think whatever changes happen, there can be nothing now that is good, there being such a general corruption among all people, that if a new government were to be settled, I do verily believe that both the parties, instead of joining to support and save the ruin of their country, would give away what money is left in the kingdom to get places themselves, as they did when the last civil list was settled. Nay, I really question whether, if a King and a minister designed to do everything that was right, a Parliament could be got that would let them; for they would say that they must be paid as they used to be, whatever consequence that produced, and like people that live upon drams, they will have money as long as there is any left for them.

1738. Miserable condition of country. Some accidents may perhaps put some little stop to the ruin of it; but nobody can foresee when it will happen, or whether we shall be much the better for it; but I am sure there is not the least prospect of recovering the prejudices we are under by giving so much power to France, unless we could imagine they will have as bad ministers as we have, which I think is not possible.

1738-9. I compare our situation to a ship near sinking, which can't be saved but by some extra-

ordinary accident, which may possibly happen but much more likely not to happen ; and the generality of the world are so worthless that I am pretty indifferent when the total ruin comes. As far as anything depends upon me, I am sure nothing can hinder me from acting as I have done ; and as I can't live long, I am sure they can't do anything that will quite starve me, who never had one grain of vanity in my inclination. I think in all ages there have been as bad men, and some worse, than Sir Robert. 'Tis true he has impoverished and ruined this country for power and gain ; but he could have done no mischief, if men of great fortunes had not assisted him ; which will certainly end in the ruin of themselves and their posterity ; and I am sure I have not the honour to be acquainted or to have the least intimacy with many that are not fools ; and I know of no remedy against that ; and this nation had certainly been safe and happy, would men of fortune have acted without any consideration of honour what was truly to their own interest. Others may hope if they can in what is to come, but I have none.

1739. Though others had hopes, I never had any ; though I find several people who are so sanguine as to think still that England will be saved ; I cannot for my life see which way, since Sir Robert has all the money and power, and there are such number of fools and knaves to support whatever he has done or shall do.

1739. Sir Robert could not help a war; but he will manage it so that nothing shall be got by it, by ill conduct, after all the people's money is drained from them, which he will get and dispose of in corruption. I can't live long enough to want necessaries, having bought land enough to produce beef and mutton at very dear rates, which make my produce very little in comparison of money at interest; but still 'twill support one, unless an entire conquest come. But notwithstanding this, my jointure and more than half of my property remains, and I can't help it, in the government funds and securities; and I expect in some time to have them sponged off, by saying there is no help for the necessity of the public but by stopping payments, but that they will pay them when they can. All this I firmly believe will happen.

1740. Had a great deal of discourse last night with one who calls himself a patriot; but I don't find that he or any of the rest of them can give anything like a reason for any hope; and when I press them upon that subject, all I can get is that some accident may bring things about to be better. An accident is a very uncertain remote comfort; and what accident can do it? For my part I cannot yet see into it, nor what great good it would produce if Sir Robert should die, who I hear very often is ready to burst with laughing. The public is more in debt than ever. There is a vast army already in England, which is to be

further increased ; and much greater taxes must be raised to pay that expense, as well as a great fleet ; neither of which have done anything, or are intended for any service, except the soldiers to awe the people of England, if they ever should be provoked to oppose arbitrary power ; in which case I am apt to believe that people would reflect how many had been hanged and lost their estates for doing it. And I think we cannot expect any assistance from the army, as we had in the Prince of Orange's time, because all the old and good officers are dead or removed ; and I know nobody left that for the sake of their pensions would not be for Sir Robert, if he should have a mind to declare himself King, besides their great ignorance and want of skill to act, if their heart would incline them to do anything that were right. Nothing is so plain as that Sir Robert has been in a long agreement with Cardinal Fleury ; and that at the time that all this farce has been acted, and such a vast expense created, Sir Robert has ordered it so as to let the French and Spaniards put themselves into such a condition as to make it, I think, next to impossible for Admiral Vernon to be saved ; and I expect to hear that he and our fleet is destroyed soon, and consequently that Jamaica will be taken from us. And I have very great reason to believe that Sir Chaloner Ogle has orders, if the delays in sending him have not put it out of his power to do anything, that he is positively forbid to do anything against the French, though

they have been suffered already to fortify Dunkirk contrary to the articles. If these things should happen, which I can see no reason why they should not, England to be sure will be in a great consternation. But how will they help themselves ? Sir Robert has both Houses of Parliament, and will easily convince his Majesty that all he has done is for his service. And when the nation comes into such distress that Sir Robert can raise no more money upon the people, there must be without doubt a great fund from the savings of King George I, Queen Caroline, and what may easily be proved the present government has had from Ireland, old remains of rent paid the crown, the civil list settlement, Hessian troops and many other such good inventions, more than two millions a year, out of which, to be sure, there is a great bank ; and nothing done for all this except throwing away all the Duke of Marlborough's successes and giving us up to France. And when they can get no more money from taxes, 'tis probable the hidden treasure may be made use of to support Sir Robert's absolute power. For my own part I don't expect anything can happen that is good, since most nations are brought into slavery by the power of ill ministers. Much the greatest part of what I have of my own and likewise of the trust estate, I expect should be soon lost with a sponge ; and the rest of it, which is in land, will be reduced yet further by taxes and excises, which is half gone already. But I can't live long. I

must submit to all misfortunes that cannot be helped.

1740-1. The Tories will not be satisfied without a Tory to be Premier Minister, and I have not heard of anyone that is capable of governing. The nation is so vastly in debt, and the expense increasing daily to support it against the foreign enemies, that I should wonder very much if men that have fortunes on the other side would undertake it. But if there should be men hardy enough to do it, is there employments enough to satisfy the chiefs of both parties; and can our poor island furnish money enough to make any stand, without great alterations in the expense that it has hitherto been at? I believe the great men at present employed would look very sourly upon anyone who should propose to lessen their great increase of salaries, who have sold their country for what they did not want, as many as should remain of them in a new turn; as those that come in would think it hard if their great merit should not have the same as has already been given. But all this is a trifle in comparison of the vast revenue the King has, which is already increased by adding to his family, and will be much more from the numerous issue of the next heir and his debts; and I am apt to think that his Majesty would not look very kindly, even upon Sir Robert, or anybody else that should propose to him the lessening any part of his revenue, towards contributing to ease the nation of the

destruction that his ministers have brought upon it.

GEORGE II.

Feb. 6, 1736. Heard this day from a pretty good hand that his Majesty has been worse than they cared to own; but upon remedies they applied his fever lessened and he was better. However the physicians say that if he does get over this illness, he cannot live a twelvemonth.

1737. The King was opposed in the Council about the mourning by everybody but my Lord Wilmington. Some years ago there was an order made that nobody should put coaches or servants into mourning for any of their relations or Court mournings. The nobility obeyed it, though they had fathers and wives as dear to them as the Queen could be to the King; and the King said, he never meant to have it go to his own family. And my Lord Pembroke was as warm in this matter as anybody. But a man who will sell his country for a place to be sure will put on any mourning.

1737. I know one, a considerable man, who has seen the King once since this misfortune, and though it was one the King would have disguised himself to if he could possibly, he says he never in his life [saw] anyone so dejected, and that he looked as if he had lost his crown.

This puts me in mind of a thing that happened many years ago, which shows that his Majesty will hear reason when anyone dares to speak it. There

was a person that was refused a thing by his Majesty and the minister, that he thought justice and his due ; upon which he desired an audience, in which he represented what he thought proper. But his Majesty looked very angry, and upon this the person, as he was going to speak, interrupted him, begged his pardon for it, and added that he begged, before his Majesty gave him his answer, that he would consider he was a gentleman. This changed his Majesty's countenance, and he complied with what was desired.

1737. His Majesty saw the Queen's women-servants first, which was a very mournful sight, for they all cried extremely ; and his Majesty was so affected that he began to speak, but went out of the room to recover himself ; and yesterday he saw the foreign ministers and his horses, which I remember Dean Swift gives a great character of ; and was sorry to leave them for the conversation of his countrymen in England, and I think he was much in the right ; for his Majesty preferred them after the women of the Queen's family.

1737-8. The King is in so very ill a state of health that he may not live long. And though he is certainly extremely dejected by the great loss he has made, I don't think that is all ; for a heart is a long time a-breaking ; and I have known very few instances of dying from the passion of love. But people of judgment say that there is a vast change in his constitution, and that he is certainly very ill, and so much changed in his manner that

he does everything he is desired, and signs what is brought him without enquiring into it.

1738. A lady that keeps very good company told me that his Majesty was now so much better that he entertained himself with playing with favourites in a private way as formerly. I did not hear what the game was, but it was cards, and some queens were dealt to the King, which renewed his trouble so much, and put him into so great a disorder, that the Princess Amelia immediately ordered all the queens to be taken out of the pack.

GUSTAVUS VASA : A TRAGEDY.

1738-9. Prologue has I think some lines good in it. The Duke of Grafton did not see the prologue but refused to license the play and said they must write plays upon such subjects as "The Orphan." I have read the play in manuscript, which is thought by judges to be a very good one. The story is not at all applicable to our present times, but of a King of Sweden, and has nothing in it but characters of virtuous people and speaking on the side of liberty, which is now a great offence.

LORD HARRINGTON.

1737. Lord Harrington, an evidence against the Prince voluntarily, for he did not bring any message ; and it is plain that he and Sir Robert came to see what they could draw out of the

Prince, by their going immediately from him to my Lord Harrington's lodgings to write down all he had said. However as he is a man that has effected a great deal of civility between man and man, he, it is said, has vexed himself sick upon it ; and for excuse he says he did not know it was to be printed. But I don't see that a sufficient excuse ; and if it was done without his knowledge and consent, he might have done something to have taken off the odium of being an evidence ; but I believe not without losing his places, which is not to be expected from a man who has done so much dirty work as to rise so fast without any great parts.

LORD HERVEY.

1737. Lord Hervey is at this time always with the King in vast favour. He has certainly parts and wit, but is the most wretched, profligate man that ever was born, besides ridiculous ; a painted face and not a tooth in his head. And it is not above six months ago that the King hated him so that he would not suffer him to be one in his diversions at play. I think 'tis possible that Sir Robert Walpole may make some use of him at first, and perhaps the other may have vanity enough to imagine that he may work himself up to be a great man ; but that is too mad I think to be ever effected, because all the world except Sir Robert abhors him ; and, notwithstanding all the mischiefs Sir Robert has done the nation, and

myself in particular, which generally people resent in the first place, I had much rather he should continue in power than my Lord Hervey.

REDUCTION OF INTEREST.

1737. The bill to reduce the interest yet lower on the mortgages to the government thrown out. Though I am very sure that Sir Robert at first intended it should pass, and though he spoke two hours upon it, nobody could provoke him to give any reason against its passing, further than that the bill was not well drawn, etc. And I find everybody is of opinion that it will pass next sessions ; and that one considerable reason why it is deferred, is because the Q—— herself has at least a million of money in that fund ; and I don't doubt but there is another has a great deal more ; so that there must be time given for them and others to sell out. And the stock did immediately rise on the bill's dropping two and a half per cent, and how much higher it will rise nobody can tell ; but this is certain, that the people who have but little will be starved ; for when they are frightened, which will be once or twice a year, they sell as soon as the stock begins to tumble, and then when the government pays them in scraps, they buy at a higher rate to get a little interest to live. And at the same time that they will take half the interest money from the creditors, both rich and poor, under a pretence of paying

the debt of the nation, I believe that it increases every day. All the patriots who are vehement in this scheme of reducing the interest to three per cent, few of them I believe have any money; but what their reasons are for joining in a thing which was certainly first set on foot by the ministry, is a secret that I have not been let into; nor can I of myself comprehend why they would be so eager to take away one-fourth of what money everybody has, when it is plain they have not strength enough to obtain any account of those many millions which have been given by the public, nor any account of what they were so unjustly pursuing. So far from that, Sir Robert has declared in some of the debates that no taxes shall be taken off; and if he had not done so, it would have been just the same thing to me; for I am sure they will raise taxes as long as there is any money left in the kingdom.

1737. Sir Robert has declared, that the taxes shall not be taken off; and had he said otherwise, that would have been no security from one who can put them on when he pleases, as he did in the salt tax, and one year after brought it on again, and mortgaged it for eleven years to come. But when he has taken one-fourth of what the proprietors have left, they have no way of helping themselves. I cannot see how the general ruin which threatens the nation can be helped by taking so great a sum from the proprietors, to put it in the power of Sir Robert or any subject who may

happen to be master. It is certain that the bill for the further reduction of interest will pass next sessions, and that it had passed this, if it had not been to give time for several considerable people to get their money out of the stocks before the interest is reduced. This all the patriots knew, and yet they would have joined to have taken more money from the people, at the same time that they saw they had not strength enough to carry one vote in anything Sir Robert opposes. And therefore, though I naturally love patriots, I cannot find any good reason for what they have done ; and I do think that one-fourth of what is left was better and more just to have been left in the people's own hands as long as it could. From the beginning of the reduction of the interest I lent such sums to the government as reduced the interest from six per cent to four per cent ; thinking it would have had a good effect for the security of the nation ; and at that time he could not have compassed such sums without me. But he has returned this with letting me know that he will take no more of the trust-money upon the land tax or malt, though it is but at three per cent ; and even that favour, though it is not a great one, he will do for everybody but our family. The nation could not be made safe from giving more money into the power of ministers ; and when any disturbance or invasion happens, the subject must give money to defend the country, for the debts will always continue at least as great as they are.

1737. The public requires the interest being reduced ; and I should be as willing to give my vote for anything that concerned the good of the nation as any man living ; but as long as Sir Robert is minister, the patriots cannot possibly apply any money for the good of the public, nor will he ever lessen any taxes.

IMPROVEMENT OF LAND.

1736. No improvement of land, which I ever aimed at, has ever turned to better account than if one had purchased so much more new land to the old.

1737. I have very little opinion of improvements ; more than to believe something is to be saved by a man's looking after his stewards and bailiffs, to prevent, as much as they can, abuses.

PURCHASE OF LAND.

1737-8. Have made a great purchase, thinking one may have a little from land for some time, whatever happens, for even I may live to see an end of all one's support from public funds.

1738. From fear of a sponge I have sold my stocks low and bought land dear, which I did because I thought that would hold longest. From my having over-purchased myself I must very soon take up money and pay interest for it.

1739. In the city to bid for Lord Yarmouth's estate, which I believe I shall have, and I do think

it necessary to do it, because land will be the last thing that will be taken from us, and I expect a little sooner or later a sponge, which will put an end to all stocks and money lent to the government.

SIR JOSEPH JEKYLL, MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

1737-8. The Master of the Rolls was on the side of the minority yesterday [3rd February], who has certainly done a great deal of mischief, though he is called honest. But I have hardly known him to succeed but when he is on the wrong side ; and yesterday he said something so weak that it made his friends smile, to the following effect, gravely, that our hopes now was in the Czarina, who I think is a good way from us, and likewise from doing France any hurt.

KINGS.

1737. Were I a man, I freely own that I would not venture anything that I could avoid for any King that I know or that I have heard of.

1737. As princes are not the best judges of right and wrong, from the flattery they are used to, not to say worse of them, I think the best thing for them and the whole nation is not to let them have power to hurt themselves or anybody else. A gentleman of Sweden has given me an account of the laws of that country which they now enjoy, but they did not compass it till the King or ministers had destroyed that country

and made them excessive poor. I heartily wish that may not be our case or worse.

1737. I am of opinion from woeful experience that from flattery or want of understanding most princes are alike ; and therefore it is to no purpose to argue against their passions, but to defend ourselves at all events against them. This makes me think of the Castile oath :—" We that are as good as yourself and more powerful chose you to be our King upon such conditions " ; and concludes with what is most just and proper.

LIBERTY.

1737-8. I am and shall ever be of the opinion that nothing is so much worth struggling for as liberty ; and I have given demonstration that in all times I have done everything in my poor power that could contribute towards that happy condition ; and I will continue to do so as long as I live. But, alas ! what can it signify, the endeavours of an old woman.

LIFE AND DEATH.

1737. I am a perfect cripple and cannot possibly hold out long : and as I have little enjoyment of my life, I am very indifferent about it.

1737. It is impossible that one of my age and infirmities can live long ; and one great happiness there is in death, that one shall never hear any more of anything they do in this world.

1737. "When I consider life, 'tis all a cheat,
Yet, fooled with hope, men favour the deceit;
Trust on, and think to-morrow will repay;
To-morrow's falser than the former day,
Lies more, and when it say we shall be blest
With some new joy, cuts off what we possessed.
Strange cozenage! none would live past years again,
Yet all hope pleasure in what still remain,
And from the dregs of life think to receive
What the fresh sprightly running could not give.
I'm tired with waiting for this chemic gold,
Which fools us young, and beggars us when old."

Verses of Dryden, which I think very pretty and which most people have felt the truth of.

1737-8. I think one can't leave the world in a better time than now, when there is no such thing as real friendship, truth, justice, honour or indeed anything that is agreeable in life.

1738-9. I am so weary of life that I don't care how soon the stroke is given to me, which I only wish may be with as little pain as is possible.

1739. As to my own particular, I have nothing to reproach myself with; and I think it very improbable that I should live to suffer what others will do who have contributed to the ruin of their country: and when I am dead I shall hear nothing of it, nor have the uneasiness, when I die, of parting with anything that gives me much pleasure. I have always thought that the greatest happiness of life was to love and value somebody extremely that returned it and to see them often; and if one has an easy fortune, that is what makes one's life pass away agreeably. But, alas! there

is such a change in the world since I knew it first, that, though one's natural pleasure is to love people, the generality of the world are in something or other so disagreeable that 'tis impossible to do it ; and added to this, I am a cripple, lifted about like a child, and very seldom free from pain.

1740-1. As I have seen so much of a very bad world, I must own I have no taste left but to have what is just necessary to support myself and those that I am obliged to take care of, which are a great many.

DUKE OF MONTAGUE.

1740. All his talents lie in things only natural in boys of fifteen years old, and he is about two and fifty ; to get people into his garden and wet them with squirts, and to invite people to his country-houses, and put things into their beds to make them itch, and twenty such pretty fancies like these.

1741-2. He has a great estate, and is master of the grand wardrobe, part of my daughter's portion, which I got him for life, and which I was assured by a very understanding man he would farm of him and give him £8000 a year. He is not a man that has any demand on account of services done by sea or land.

MOTION AGAINST SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

1740-1. Both parties find fault with each other, and for my own part I believe them both

to blame in many things ; but surely the Tories are the worst and have always done the most mischief. I believe there is many knaves amongst them, but 'tis certain the majority of them are fools ; and the principles that they profess are both foolish and false. Many of the Whigs must be allowed to have sense, and to be much more capable of managing a government than Tories. But the majority of them are knaves, and they have shown, when they are in employment, that their chief aim is to keep their places and raise themselves without any regard to the good of the public. Those in the opposition did not imagine that they could carry the question in two such Houses, without the promise from the Tories that they would join them, which they had ; and if they had performed as they assured them they would, they would certainly have been as near carrying what they desired as in the excise-bill, which frighted Sir Robert so much that he durst not stand it. For 'tis certain that, notwithstanding these promises, more than a hundred voted for the minister, and a great number went off with Mr Shippen, who some suspect has taken money. Upon the whole matter everything was extremely ill managed in the House of Commons but in the House of Lords much better ; and it is certain that my Lord Carteret did speak two hours as well as any man in the world could speak, but all in vain : and though I think the minority there was not lessened, the majority was but little in-

creased. The town is now full of discourse upon these matters, and different opinions they have. Some of the Tories pretend to be ashamed of what they have done. Sir John Hinde Cotton, and Watkins Williams and Lord Noel Somerset voted according to their promise with the minority. I know none of them but Sir John Hinde Cotton, who, though they call him a Jacobite, I think he has too great an estate and too much sense really to be for a Popish government. But as he happened to be always of the Tory side, I suppose he thought he should make a better figure in being the head of a party than in leaving it.

CHAMBER ORGAN.

1737. I am now in pursuit of getting the finest piece of music that ever was heard ; it is a thing that will play eight tunes. Handel and all the great musicians say it is beyond anything they can do ; and this may be performed by the most ignorant person ; and when you are weary of those eight tunes, you may have them changed for any other that you like. This I think much better than going to an Italian opera or an assembly. This performance has been lately put into a lottery, and all the Royal Family chose to have a great many tickets rather than to buy it, the price being, I think, £1000, infinitely a less sum than some bishoprics have been sold for. And a gentleman won it who I am in hopes will

sell it, and if he will, I will buy it, for I cannot live to have another made, and I will carry it into the country with me.

PATRIOTS.

1737-8. I think great things might still be done with honest hearts and good heads; but the demand is much too high; at least I can find very few that have either good heads or hearts. Some there are I believe of both sorts; but much the greatest number are those that are called men of understanding, and are so blinded with some low present view for themselves or fear, that they will not be of any good use.

1738. I think that all the people in places, and those of the patriots that have a mind to have them, will keep and get all the employments they can to the last moment, without any regard to what may happen to England.

1738. I believe that, besides the great majority by Sir Robert's corruption, there is a majority likewise in the minority who have so long pretended to be concerned for the safety of their country, who really mean nothing but to make some bargain for themselves.

1739. I think everything should be done that can be legally done to save this sinking nation; and I really believe 'tis intended by the generality of the minority; but I do not believe they all mean the same thing, which is a great disadvantage.

1739. I don't find that anybody thinks 'tis possible for any good to be done this sessions. Everybody that should act don't mean the same thing. Some are influenced wholly by bribes; others have views which they cover; and upon the whole I think that Sir Robert will die in power: and after that what the next minister will do I can't tell; but I believe 'twill be like the horse full of flies, which the rider would not have brushed off, because an empty swarm would come to suck him.

1739-40. A great man in the opposition has brought his own relation into a place where he could have chose my footman, and one who has employments, and never did nor ever will give a vote against the Court. I think it is shameful to talk against placemen and to choose one one's own self at the same time. He should rather have made his relation quit the Court and have paid him with his own money for it. And it appears to me very ill-judged to cry out upon pensions and at the same time bring one into Parliament. Brutus put his own sons to death, which was terrible, because they were in a plot with others to destroy the government; but it would have been worse to have saved his sons for the same crime that their companions were executed for.

1740. As there are but few on the other side that have either true honesty, sense or resolution, I think we have very little to hope.

1740. Some of those people who call them-

selves patriots are certainly very good men ; but I am very sure the whole party don't mean the same thing. They don't all go in a straight line to pursue steadily the right points ; but they act coolly, sometimes one way and sometimes another, as they think it will turn most to what they secretly have in view, some to keep places they are in possession of and others to get into them.

POLITICAL PAPERS.

1738. A paper writ on the minister's side. I never read one of them before, knowing they are either nonsense or false. I think this artfully writ, and I am confident 'tis done by Dr Hare. Such papers, I think, impose on very ignorant people, a great many of which are in the country.

EARL OF PEMBROKE.

1737-8. I don't look upon a blue ribbon to be any honour as they are generally disposed of, and yet I fancy my Lord Pembroke will be angry that —— are preferred before him. But let him be ever so much offended at it, he won't act one right thing that can hazard his losing a guinea.

PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MINISTRY.

1737. There is nothing more plain to me than that there is an opportunity to put a stop to any more mischief, and in time England might flourish again. But this, I think, depends on resolution,

good sense and honesty, of which I fear there is very little. I am nothing but an ignorant old woman, but I have seen a great deal of courts ; and I do really think that, without having any of the old Roman virtue, it is wiser for any great man not to be a Premier Minister, which, if we should ever happen to have a weak or an ill King, must lead a terrible life, besides being very insecure ; and consequently it would be best for a King, as well as the nation and everybody that has any property or love to their posterity, to have all things done in council without a Premier Minister, which I have often heard is the law. In that case many great officers would be answerable for what they did. They might live easily, do their country service and their King. And as vacancies happened, others, as far as the nation would furnish, might take their places in succession. This has always been a notion of mine, for which I have been often laughed at. However if I were a man, I would try what resolution, reason and honesty would do, whatever it cost me ; supposing that a man has no love to his country nor care of his posterity, if we go on as we have done with Premier Ministers, if he has any property, must it not all be lost in a few years, and everybody reduced to slavery ?

ROMAN CATHOLICS.

1737-8. I am acquainted with some Jacobites, and I have some relations that are Roman

Catholics. Though they are simple people, their party love them for their zeal; and they do tell one another what they know, and I find they are all in extreme hopes at this time; and one of them said lately to me, very simply, that there was come over a bill lately from Ireland that was an additional cruelty to the Roman Catholics; that their friends used the same endeavours to Sir Robert to have it stopped; notwithstanding which the council here passed it immediately. I asked 'em who were the people that used to obtain favour of Sir Robert in such things? They said the French, Spanish and Emperor's ambassadors had often prevailed with Sir Robert on such occasions; and though he would not desist on an ambassador's speaking, they still hope, when Cardinal Fleury and others from France could write, it might still be stopped in Ireland. This looks as if Sir Robert was more cautious than he has been formerly in taking advice from our enemies. Though I think his wisdom is a little too late, after joining those three great powers in an interest against England.

CARDINAL DE RETZ.

1739. His history is entertaining, because he has wit and sense; notwithstanding which I must confess I don't like him much. For if I were a man, I would not rebel, to have the greatest employment any Prince could give me. But if

any tyrant broke the laws and obliged me to draw the sword, I would never trim nor sheath it till justice was done to my country. I find in this history that the Parliament and people without doors cried out violently :—" No peace, no Mazarin " ; and yet in the conclusion Mazarin got the better and enslaved France. And by the description de Retz makes us of the nobles, their taking bribes, being very simple and wholly bent on private interest, they resemble very much our House of Lords.

EARL OF SCARBOROUGH.

1738-9. Lord Scarborough voted with the minority, and spoke, though he has something so very particular, that I can't be sure he will go on, for he is always splitting a hair ; but there is now, I think, no hair to split.

SECESSION FROM THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1738-9. Minority's resolution of not going to Parliament, where the corruption hinders them from doing any good unless on private bills. Majority seem dissatisfied ; but there is no judgment to be made of what will follow from it, since the same men will always do as Sir Robert finds proper to direct them. And perhaps he may pass everything that he pleases, and keep all the money raised from the public for himself and his brother.

1739. I find some people don't like the

minority's absenting themselves from the House. A great number continue to do it. I am not acquainted with them ; but there are three that I think have sense and are men of good character, which are my Lord Cornbury, Mr Plumer and Sir John Barnard, who continue still to go. Whether the resolution will do good or no I am not able to judge ; but I think there is nothing more plain than that their going to the House can do no good against so much folly and corruption ; and therefore I imagine that their leaving the Parliament is to show the world that they do not join with it. And perhaps they may think that Sir Robert won't dare pass some acts with but little more than half the number. I wish it may be so. But I think he will use the nation as ill as the Spaniards did the seamen, rather than not compass everything he has a mind to.

CHARLES, EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1738. The Earl of Sunderland, it was thought, would be a fool at two-and-twenty ; but afterwards, from the favour of a weak prince, he was cried up for having parts, though 'tis certain he had not much in him.

SWIFT.

1736. Dean Swift gives the most exact account of kings, ministers, bishops and the courts of justice that is possible to be writ. He has certainly a vast

deal of wit ; and since he could contribute so much to the pulling down the most honest and best-intentioned ministry that ever I knew, with the help only of Abigail and one or two more, and has certainly stopped the finishing stroke to ruin the Irish in the project of the halfpence, in spite of all the ministry could do, I could not help wishing that we had had his assistance in the opposition ; for I could easily forgive him all the slaps he has given me and the Duke of Marlborough, and have thanked him heartily whenever he would please to do good. I never saw him in my life ; and though his writings have entertained me very much, yet I see he writes sometimes for interest ; for in his books he gives my Lord Oxford as great a character as if he was speaking of Socrates or Marcus Antoninus. But when I am dead, the reverse of that character will come out with vouchers to it under his own hand.

1736. The style of the Lords' address puts me in mind of Dean Swift's account, who I am prodigiously fond of, which he gives of the manner in which he was introduced to the King of Luggnagg.

1736. I most heartily wish that in this park I had some of the breed of those charming creatures Swift speaks of and calls the Houyhnhnms, which I understand to be horses, so extremely polite, and which had all manner of good conversation, good principles, and that never told a lie, and charmed him so that he could not endure his own country

when he returned. He says there is a sort of creature there called Yahoos, and of the same species with us, only a good deal uglier ; but they are kept tied up ; and by that glorious creature the horses are not permitted to do any mischief. I really have not been pleased so much a long time as with what he writes.

TOWN AND COUNTRY.

1736. One of my chief pleasures is, that after such an hour in this place [Windsor Lodge] I am sure I can see nobody. At Marlborough House it is very different ; for there are many visitors, though few that have any sense or that are capable of any friendship or truth. I would desire no more pleasure than to walk about my gardens and parks ; but alas ! that is not permitted ; for I am generally wrapped up in flannel and wheeled up and down my rooms in a chair. I cannot be very solicitous for life upon such terms, when I can only live to have more fits of the gout.

1736. I never design to see Blenheim again ; in a lodge I have everything convenient and without trouble.

1737. Came yesterday from Wimbledon. Though it stands high, it is upon clay, an ill sod, very damp, and I believe an unhealthy place, which I shall very seldom live in ; and consequently I have thrown away a vast sum of money upon it to little purpose.

PRINCE OF WALES.

1736. A great bustle in the Houses of Parliament concerning the revenue which the public pays to the King to support the Prince of Wales. The Court carried it by a majority of thirty, not without the expense of a great deal of money and a most shameful proceeding to threaten and fetch sick men out of their beds to vote, for fear of losing their bread. But notwithstanding this the minority for the Prince was two hundred and four; and a great many other members who would have been in it if they had been in town. A great many charming truths were said on that side; no justice or common sense was expressed on the other. The speakers on the majority were Sir Robert, Horace, Sir W. Yonge, Pelham and somebody of the Admiralty that I never heard of before. I am confident that though the Prince lost the question, the ministers were mightily frighted, and not without reason, for it is a heavy weight two hundred and four, who were certainly on the right side of the question. And I am apt to think that men who have been so base with estates and so mean as to act against the interest of their country, will grow very weary of voting to starve the next heir to the Crown, since the generality of the majority has a view only to their own interest. And it is apprehended that the King is in so very bad a state of health that, though he has got over his illness so far as some-

times to appear in public, yet we shall not be so happy as to have him live long ; and everybody that sees him tells me that he looks at this time extremely ill. The Prince in all this affair has shown a great deal of spirit and sense ; and the intolerable treatment which he has had for so many years will no doubt continue him to be very firm and to act right. House of Lords :— proxies and all but forty for the Prince, and a majority of near three to one on the other side. Nobody surprised at that. I really think that they might pass an act there, if they pleased, to take away Magna Charta. 'Tis said they don't intend to turn out anybody in the King's service who voted in this question for the Prince in either House. If they don't, I think that shows some fear. I am never very sanguine, and for a long time could not imagine which way the liberties of England could be saved. But I really do think now there is a little glimmering of daylight.

1737. The Prince has gone to make a visit to my Lord Cobham, where my Lord Chesterfield is and some others that I think very good men. I believe keeping that company won't be agreeable to her Majesty.

1737. I much apprehend that all his good intentions will come too late to save us from destruction ; for virtue without power is as useless as power without virtue is hurtful to us ; but still we must hope on and be contented with what we can't help.

1737. There has been an extraordinary quarrel at Court. The 31st of last month [July] the Princess fell in labour. The King and Queen both knew that she was to lie in at St James's, where everything was prepared. It was her first child, and so little a way to London that she thought it less hazard to go immediately away from Hampton Court to London, where she had all the assistance that could be and everything prepared, than to stay at Hampton Court, where she had nothing and might be forced to make use of a country midwife. There was not a minute's time to be lost in debating this matter, nor in ceremonials; the Princess begging earnestly of the Prince to carry her to St James's in such a hurry that gentlemen went behind the coach like footmen. They got to St James's safe; and she was brought to bed in one hour after. Her Majesty followed them as soon as she could, but did not come till it was all over. However she expressed a great deal of anger to the Prince for having carried her away, though she and the child were very well. I should have thought it had been most natural for a grandmother to have said she had been mightily frighted, but she was glad it was so well over. The Prince said all the respectful and dutiful things imaginable to her and to the King, desiring her Majesty to support the reasons which made him go away as he did without acquainting his Majesty with it. And I believe all human creatures will allow that this

was natural for a man not to debate a thing of this kind, nor to lose a minute's time in ceremony ; which was very useless, considering that it is a great while since the King has spoke to him or taken the least notice of him. The Prince told her Majesty he intended to go that morning to pay his duty to the King ; but she advised him not. This was Monday morning, and she said Wednesday was time enough. And indeed I think in that her Majesty was in the right. The Prince submitted to her counsel, and only writ a very submissive and respectful letter to his Majesty, giving his reasons for what he had done ; and this conversation ended, that he hoped his Majesty would do him the honour to be godfather to his daughter, and that he would be pleased to name who the godmothers should be ; and that he left all the directions of the christening entirely to his Majesty's pleasure. The Queen answered that it would be thought the asking the King to be godfather was too great a liberty, and advised him not to do it. When the Prince led the Queen to her coach, which she would not have had him have done, there was a great concourse of people ; and notwithstanding all that had passed before, she expressed so much kindness that she hugged and kissed him with great passion. The King after this sent a message in writing by my Lord Essex, in the following words :—that his Majesty looked upon what the Prince had done, in carrying the Princess to London in such

a manner, as a deliberate indignity offered to himself and to the Queen, and resented it in the highest degree, and forbid him the Court. All the sycophants and agents of the Court spread millions of falsities upon this occasion, and all the language there was that this was so great a crime that even those that went with the Prince ought to be prosecuted. How this will end nobody yet knows, at least I am sure I don't. I have not heard yet of any christening being directed ; but for that I am in no manner of pain ; for if it be never christened, I think 'tis in a better state than a great many devout people that I know. What I apprehend most is that the Crown will be lost long before this little Princess can possibly enjoy it.

1737. They have printed all the letters and messages that have passed between the King, Queen, Prince and Princess. This shows that the minister thinks he has been in the right ; but I don't find any reasonable body of that opinion. And I observe that they have left out in this printed paper a message from his Majesty to the Prince, which was brought in writing by my Lord Dunmore ; in which they judged very well, for it was certainly a very odd one, as I think it is, my Lord Harrington's and Sir Robert Walpole's evidence concerning the Prince, some part of which is certainly untrue. But upon the whole matter nobody can think that the Prince designed to hurt the Princess or the child, which was of

much more consequence to him than it can be to her Majesty, who has so many children of her own. If the Prince had not had good success in what he ventured to do, and if it had been a real crime, the submissions the Prince has made one would think ought to have been accepted, for the omission of a ceremony that was not natural for the Prince to think of at that time ; and especially as he was treated at Court. But I suppose that Sir Robert did not think it a proper thing to say that the true cause of the quarrel was the Prince's seeming to have a desire to have the whole of the allowance which the public pays for his support ; and indeed I do think it would not have been becoming to have given that reason for what has been done. But if I may presume to give my opinion against Sir Robert's, I should rather in his place have chose to have sent the message to the Prince, that he must leave St James's, because the King was dissatisfied with his behaviour in general ; and not have given such strange reasons for the quarrel, and then publish a printed account with so many reflections upon the Prince, which no man that has any notion of honour can ever forgive.

1737. The courtiers talk much of a reconciliation. If there is any design to compass that, surely it was as ill-judged as everything else to publish such a character of the King's son all over England.

1737-8. There is a great deal of very good

company goes to Norfolk House ; but if I were to advise, I would have more play, to make more people easy by sitting down, as it used to be in all the courts that ever I knew, either by a basset-table or at other games, letting people of quality go halves. But they begin, to my thinking with the same forms as the late Queen did, only to have room to entertain two of the town ladies, and I think it don't lessen one's greatness but the contrary to make everybody one can easy.

1738. They have found a way in the city to borrow £30,000 for the Prince at 10 per cent interest, to pay his crying debts to tradespeople. But I doubt that sum won't go very far. But they have got it, tho' great pains was taken to hinder it. The salaries in the Prince's family are £25,000 a year, besides a good deal of expense at Cliveden in building and furniture. And the Prince and Princess's allowance for their clothes is £6000 a year each. I wish his Royal Highness so well that I am sorry there is such an increase of expense more than in former times, where there was more money a great deal. And I really think it would have been more for the Prince's interest, if his counsellors had thought it proper to have advised him to live only like a great man and to give the reasons for it ; and in doing so, he would have made a better figure and have been safer ; for nobody that does not get by it themselves can possibly think the contrary method a right one.

1738-9. The Prince of Wales has done, I

think, a very right thing, for he has declared to everybody that, though he did design to bring the business of his revenue into the House, he is now resolved not to do it, it being but a trifle and what could not succeed after losing a question of so much consequence for the preservation of the nation. But I think all this prudence will be of no use to prevent France's settling this country as that King pleases, after we are still made poorer by what Sir Robert has done and will do further.

1739. I hear some people find fault with the Prince's having voted in the House of Lords with the minority, but I can see no reason for that. For surely he was as much at liberty to do it as any other Peer, and I can't comprehend why he should not give his vote in anything that so manifestly was for the good of England.

PRINCESS OF WALES.

1737-8. The Princess speaks English much better than any of the family that have been here so long, appears good-natured and civil to everybody ; never saying anything to offend, as the late Queen did perpetually, notwithstanding her great understanding and goodness.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

1735-6. The chief must have great talents or he could not have compassed what he has. But I do really believe that there never was any instance

in any government of so much brutality, ill principles and folly. But which way any of these things can be changed I cannot yet see into.

1736. Sir Robert, in the House of Commons, in the debate where it was taken notice of the shameful things that they had done in turning out officers of great merit, said that a minister must be a very pitiful fellow if he did not turn out officers who pretended to meddle with the civil government ; and that he would leave that advice as a legacy to those ministers that might succeed him. If I had been a Parliament man, I should have been so saucy as to have asked why the soldiers were in Parliament. For according to Sir Robert's notion, they were only to be a standing army to plunder and ruin us as occasion offered, and to vote away our property when they sat in the House.

1737. As long as Sir Robert is minister, the patriots cannot possibly apply any money for the good of the public, nor will he ever lessen any taxes ; and as long as the Queen lives Sir Robert will be minister. I think whatever happens, England can never be what it has been, unless France could have such ministers as Sir Robert and his brother, which is not possible.

1737. My own opinion may possibly be very wrong, for it is only from what I think I see, putting things together, for nobody tells me anything that I can depend upon the truth of. But I am confident there is nothing in the world that

Sir Robert Walpole desires so much as to secure himself by a treaty of quitting with safety ; and in that, to be sure, he is extremely in the right. And I do believe there are some so desirous to have the power that they will give him a golden bridge to go over ; and that there will be a scheme to settle a ministry, from which I cannot believe England will receive any good. I believe there will be no scheme offered for reducing interest or abolishing the liberty of the press, till all things are settled for releasing Sir Robert. Though I dare say several that may be in the ministry may like, as well as he, to hinder complaints and representations of that sort, and will consequently bring it about in a proper time. But at present the Pr—— will be told that by this new scheme he will have a better revenue in a little time, compassed by the mixture of the old ministry and those in the opposition joining. And that it will be a great triumph to him to force Sir Robert to quit, which he would give a great sum of money to obtain. And in this manner I think the scheme is to be carried on without restoring us to any one article made at the Revolution, or abating in reality one shilling of the grievous taxes. But more would be added if there was a possibility of raising it. Not a shilling of the public debt will be paid ; for the rich corn is already gone, and the mixed ministry will only have some gleanings left.

1738. Whoever thinks of being a minister likes

fools better than men of sense, who they can't govern and make do wrong things for their private interest. Sir Robert is a great instance of this, who has been assisted by such sort of creatures : for I think he has hardly anybody in his great majority but such, and those who, though they are not strictly to be called idiots, have so much passion for money that they won't lose a guinea to save their own estate and the liberties of their country.

1738-9. Sir Robert told Mr Sandys lately that perhaps they might get the better of him, but he was sure no other minister would ever be able to stand so long as he had done, twenty years ; to which Mr Sandys replied he hoped he never should. But for my part I wish we might have a minister that had power to the age of Cardinal Fleury, if they deserved from their country as well as he does from France.

1739. I think 'tis thought a fault to wish anybody dead, but I hope 'tis none to wish he may be hanged, having brought to ruin so great a country as this might have been.

1740-1. Some people refine so much as to think Sir Robert will be glad to make himself sure of his great fortune and quit, if he can have terms that can secure him. And I have no doubt but that there are some of the minority side that would be glad to come into his place, though ever so dangerous a situation. It is not in my opinion an unreasonable inclination in Sir Robert to have a

mind to secure himself with such a vast wealth after the mischiefs he has done. But the difficulties are so great in that scheme that I confess I cannot see how it can be brought about, as Sir Robert appears at this time to be settled, and is in reality King, and will be so as long as he lives, which I believe he does not expect should be longer than the King, who is I believe in very good health ; and as long as there is any money in the nation, I think he will not part with his power nor trust to a new ministry ; though I don't expect those that may come in to govern will ever punish an offender for example's sake. But if this wonderful thing should be brought about, Sir Robert will still be behind the curtain with an immense estate, and make it very uneasy to any minister.

1741-2. How well they have begun in the House of Commons. I find that those who can judge very well think that Sir Robert cannot fail of being punished ; and I wish it may go as far as he deserves, not out of any malice or revenge, but because I really think the constitution cannot be recovered without some example being made. No government can be so bad as it has been.

WINDSOR ELECTION.

March 19, 1737-8. Disputed election at Windsor will be heard at the bar of the House on Thursday next ; in which the Duke of Marl-

borough assisted a country gentleman with a very good estate. They tell me it is the strongest election that ever came into that House. The opposer is my Lord Vere, Nell Gwynne's grandson and of the family of the idiots, who I dare say will carry it ; because they will always vote as they are ordered by the minister, let him be ever so bad. Nothing illegal or wrong has been done on the Duke of Marlborough's side ; for people out of power can neither turn anyone in nor out. But on t'other side all manner of infamous practices were used. Notwithstanding which the mayor was forced to return both candidates, the votes being equal. His Majesty was pleased to say publicly in drawing-room, when the account was given him of it :—" But we have the returning officer." The members in constant pay will be assisted by some of the patriots, so it will only be a trouble to no purpose. One of the patriots, who is Mr Grenville, my Lord Cobham's heir and nephew, has declared already that he is extremely sorry he can't be on the right side, to which he wishes success ; but he has married a relation of Lord Vere's wife. A poor soldier, whose arm was shot off under the Duke of Marlborough and who had a pension from Chelsea College, was ordered to give his vote for Lord Vere, having a house at Windsor and a right to do it, and told if he did not his pension should be taken away. To which he answered :—" I will venture starving, rather than it shall be said that

I voted against the Duke of Marlborough's grandson, after having followed his grandfather so many hundred leagues." And accordingly he voted against Lord Vere. I don't know whether they have taken away his pension, but I hope they will; for I have sent him word, if they do take it away, I will settle the same upon him for his life.

March 27, 1738. The Windsor election ended last night. And after it was demonstrated that the side the Duke of Marlborough was of had a clear majority all ways they could possibly turn it, without pretending to argue on Lord Vere's side, because they had nothing in the world to say, they put the question and carried it, that Lord Vere was legally chose by 240 to 160. There was nobody that shined so much in the debate as my Lord Polwarth, his brother, and Mr Plumer. The two first I have heard some say are too warm; but I own I love those that are so, and never saw much good in those that are not. But if we had a thousand speakers, it had been the same thing. For the facts were so strongly proved on our side as to be enough for anything but corruption, had nothing been said at all. One that is a very good observer gave me an account, that he had time to examine the faces of the voters on Sir Robert's side, and he said some of 'em looked angry, others grieved, and others laughed. Nothing so detestable as the behaviour of some of the patriots. My Lord Cobham's heir, Mr Grenville, said he wished Mr Oldfield might succeed, for it was right, but

he had married Lady Vere's sister and therefore must be for Lord Vere. It is impossible for anybody to believe that my Lord Cobham could not have hindered his heir from giving a vote so shameful to his nephew and self, as he professes being such a patriot. Mr Berkley had another reason for being on that side, for he is Lady Betty Jermyn's relation and hopes to get some of her riches when she dies. My Lord Scarborough persuaded his brother, Sir William Sanderson, to vote contrary to his promise and his reason, for it was that his brother had desired him to do it because he lived so much with Lady Betty Jermyn. My Lord Townshend writ out of the country to command his son to be for Lord Vere, right or wrong, and he obeyed his father's commands, contrary to his promise and his known inclination. Two of the three admirals voted for Lord Vere, though they owned they had been wronged by bringing him over their head. The third admiral, Steward, stayed away. A gentleman who has the most profitable place in the Prince's family, voted for them or stayed away, I don't know which. And the reason for that I think was the best of any, that the St Albans' family had voted in a cause of his as bad as this of Lord Vere's ; which I allow was a great obligation, but such a one as he never could have had from me. Another of the patriots, I don't remember his name, voted for Lord Vere, because he had been his school-fellow. And Mr Comp-

ton, my Lord Wilmington's nephew, voted against the Marlborough interest, who had not been in the House, if the Duke of Marlborough and John Spencer had not chose him in Northamptonshire, which I hope they'll remember, if this country subsists so long as to have another election. My Lord Wilmington has been a great manager in this affair and governed the Mayor of Windsor in all his proceedings. And the Duke of Dorset commanded one of his sons to break his word, which he did with a great deal of trouble. The Master of the Rolls sent me word he would be sure to attend the cause, if it was heard at the bar of the House, supposing then it would not be heard there ; but when he found it was, he pretended to be sick. This strange woman has had a great influence over many, even upon Mr Sandys, who would have been a useful man in the House of Commons but could not be prevailed on to take any part in this affair. But it was too infamous for him to vote in such a cause for Lord Vere, and sat silent all but his vote. And his —— wife and he too are often at Court. His Majesty declared publicly at his levee, before the election was decided, that Lord Vere should have the seat in Parliament, for Windsor was his borough.

WOMEN.

1737-8. Women signify nothing unless they are the mistress of a prince or a first minister,

which I would not be if I were young; and I think there are very few if any women that have understanding or impartiality enough to serve well those they really wish to serve.

ROXBURGHSHIRE
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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THE EDINBURGH PRESS, EDINBURGH

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Memoirs of Court, Camp, and Society

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M.A., B.Litt.

London

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